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THE DISCOVERIE OF GUIANA

BY

SIR WALTER RALEGH

EDITOR: N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S.



G. Vertue del. et sculp. 1728.

From a Picture painted by W. Elwes, Son of Sir W. Elwes, formerly belonging to Lady Elwes, eldest daughter of Walter, grandson of Sir Walter Raleigh.

THE DISCOVERIE
of the large and bewtiful Empire of
GUIANA

BY

SIR WALTER RALEGH

Edited
from the Original Text,
with *Introduction, Notes and Appendixes*
of hitherto unpublished
documents

BY

V. T. HARLOW, M.A., B.LITT.

Author of
*Colonising Expeditions to
the West Indies and Guiana, 1924*
A History of Barbados, 1926
etc., etc.



1928

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PREFACE

THE mass of new material bearing upon Sir Walter Raleigh which has come to light since Sir Robert Schomburgk edited *The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana* for the Hakluyt Society in 1848, has made the appearance of a new critical edition of Raleigh's classic an urgent need. Sir Walter has suffered alternately from such extravagant adulation on the one hand, and from such unjustified abuse on the other, that one turns with some eagerness to a study which is based throughout on original research.

Although the last word has not yet been said in regard to the complicated history of his Guiana enterprises, the reader of the present work will at once realise that the new light that Mr Harlow has shed upon the subject is of high interest and importance. His Introduction is as scholarly and erudite as it is thrilling to read. The terrible tale of the pursuit of the non-existent El Dorado when once read will not easily be forgotten. Its human interest is enormous—the love of adventure, the wooing of the unknown, and the lure of gold in fabulous quantities have called to men in all stations and conditions of life. Many of their names we know, many we have forgotten, and many we never knew. But as we read these pages we experience a feeling of great admiration not unmixed, however, with one of pity and regret.

The Spanish official despatches, which lay forgotten for over three centuries, and which are translated and printed here *in extenso* for the first time, in Appendixes A and B, render it possible at last to compare Raleigh's own account of the 1595 expedition with the narratives of contemporary Spaniards actually on the spot. Names, such as Antonio de Berrio, which have hitherto been little more than shadowy figures in the background of Raleigh's picture, now stand in front of the canvas as live historical characters whose motives, temperament and importance it is possible to assess.

Not everyone will agree with the view expressed in the Introduction with regard to the inner meaning of Raleigh's fatal adventure in 1617; but it will be hard to deny Mr Harlow's main contention that the Guiana project, taken as a whole, was essentially one of territorial expansion. Its importance, therefore, was ultimately as great as Raleigh's enterprises in Virginia.

With regard to the Raleigh of romance, Mr Harlow has many rather drastic things to say; but in place of that picturesque figure we all know

so well he draws one that is infinitely more interesting. Here we see him as a brilliant man of ideas who was a constant failure in the sphere of action: as a sailor who was mocked at by his contemporaries for an incompetent bungler, and as one of the greatest moral philosophers of the age.

Similarly, as the analysis proceeds, Sir Walter's reputation as an explorer slowly crumbles away, but his fame as a great Colonial statesman mounts steadily higher. Some of our delusions are shattered, but we recognise, perhaps even more than before, that Raleigh was a great man—in a time when great men were common.

Turning to the bibliographical side of the present work, in view of the existence of two fairly recent Raleigh bibliographies, it will be unnecessary to go into great detail. Unfortunately, however, the first of these works, that by W. Eames, New York, 1886, appears to have been limited to only 34 copies. The Guiana entries are remarkably well done, and the Latin, German and Dutch translations are described in detail (pp. 5, 7-11, 15-18, 27-30). The other work by T. N. Brushfield (2nd edit. 1908) is not nearly so detailed or scholarly as far as Guiana is concerned. He states, for instance, that the first edition of 1596 had three quite distinct impressions, as proved by the three copies at the British Museum. Inspection of these copies shows, however, beyond a doubt, that two of them (G. 7169. I and C. 32. g. 25) are printed off identical type, while the third (C. 32. c. 10) is an entirely different edition. The interesting question we would like to settle is: Which is the first edition? Turning to Eames' work we find still another edition of 1596 described, with most of the distinguishing "points" given in detail.

One of the copies he describes (L. 67552) is exactly the same as C. 32. c. 10, except that p. 20 is wrongly numbered "18." He records, however, a copy at Harvard library with this very additional "point." Then again, his C.H.K. L.N. 67754 agrees with G. 7169. I and C. 32. g. 25, except that p. 83 is correctly printed and not changed to 93 as in the copy he records.

Thus it would seem that the immediate success of Raleigh's work was very great, and that at least four different editions appeared in 1596. We have but little to help us in deciding which was issued first. All the signatures are similar and we can learn nothing from the paper or type. The only evidence which makes us believe that G. 7169. I (and its fellow copy C. 32. g. 25) was printed first is: (1) that more care has been taken over its production as regards capitals, setting head-pieces, etc., (2) the same head-pieces are produced throughout, while in other editions a fresh

one has been introduced on p. 102, (3) certain words have been hyphenated at the end of lines in such a manner as to suggest great hurry, e.g. "o-ther."

A word must also be said about the engraving reproduced as the frontispiece to the present volume. George Vertue, the eminent engraver and antiquary, was employed at Knole for several years from 1728. In 1731 he worked on the portrait still there, and in 1735 copied in miniature and engraved himself a very similar one, adding, however, several accessories, such as a globe showing Guiana, a map of Cadiz and the Azores. It is this portrait that is here reproduced. Its history is curious. The engraving is said to be taken "From a Picture in possession of W^m Elwes, Sen^r Esq^r, formerly belonging to Lady Elwes, eldest daughter of S^r Walter Grandson of S^r Walter Raleigh." It first appeared as a frontispiece to the 1736 two-volume edition of Raleigh's *History of the World*, to which William Oldys' *Life of Raleigh* was prefixed. His remarks on the portrait are especially interesting: "I have at last had the satisfaction of seeing the characters united in that portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, still remaining with the descendants of his family. It is a half-length, representing him in the silver armour before-mention'd, and richly adorn'd in the skirts, the sword and belt with diamonds, rubies and pearls. It seems by the darkness and fullness of the hair, with the freshness of the countenance, to have been the picture of him before his Guiana expedition above related...."

The subsequent history of the picture is shrouded in mystery. It apparently remained in the Elwes family, finally being inherited by a Mrs Forth, granddaughter of Mary Elwes, who herself was a granddaughter of the Capt. W. Elwes already mentioned. It seems that Mr Forth pledged the portrait as a security for money and never redeemed it¹.

N. M. PENZER

¹ For further details readers are referred to the first article in Vol. VIII of the publications of the Walpole Society, 1919-20.

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THE DISCOVERIE OF GUIANA.
BY SIR WALTER RALEGH

AN INTRODUCTION

BY

V. T. HARLOW, M.A., B.LITT.

The references to the Introduction which appear in the
footnotes on pages 16, 19, 32, 52, 56, 58, 63, 79, 92,
115, 123 of the text should be increased by six.

INTRODUCTION

§ i. RALEGH AND HIS TITLE TO FAME

THE age of Elizabeth is so environed with the golden haze of romance, that only by a considerable effort can the men and women of that time be discerned in their true proportions. In viewing the history of any age the exercise of imagination is at once a necessity and a danger. Failing its employment, the resulting conception is non-human and accordingly untrue. But imagination, unattended by discipline, too lightly builds its heroes and its villains, seeing only black and white. From such ill treatment the latter half of the sixteenth century has suffered more severely at the hands of romantic writers than any other period of our history. Its attraction lies in the fact that it was a time of vital change. Forces which had long been transforming the structure of mediaeval society then appeared in the fulness of their vigour, constituting a multiform movement, which was characterised by individualism—individualism in religion, in art and literature, in the pursuit of knowledge, in commerce and industry, and (latest of all) in political organisation. The generation which lived in the flood-time of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the age of geographical discovery, inspires us of necessity with more than ordinary interest. On every side the horizon of human potentiality was immensely widened; in every direction master-minds pursued those potentialities to glorious ends. When we consider the pitch to which patriotism was raised by the exploits of Drake and the dramatic delivery from the Armada, and the fact that it was centred in a very remarkable woman, the inevitability of a falsely romantic interpretation of the period becomes apparent.

¶ Above all else the Elizabethans were keen business men. The extensive growth of industry, particularly of cloth, had provided them with the wherewithal for trade; while the development of their sea-power enabled them to compete in the rush for markets over-seas. Riches unguessed at a century before could now be had by energy and enterprise. The capitalist farmer and the merchant formed a middle class which filled the Tudor Council Chamber and elbowed the feudal aristocracy out of prominence. By this new England the Spaniard was hated not nearly so much for his Inquisition (potent factor though religion was), as for his

refusal to allow participation in the rich fields which his own initiative had opened up. We rightly admire the heroism and audacity of the Elizabethan seamen as they storm the ports of the Spanish Main or tow a silver-laden galleon into Plymouth; but it is to be remembered that the commercial magnates who invested their money, regarded these enterprises in the same light as a modern capitalist would view a speculation on the Stock Exchange, and that they were wont to quarrel like pick-pockets over the proceeds.

¶ Life in the time of Elizabeth was also fraught with cunning and brutality. The "paladins of the Virgin Queen," as they have been picturesquely named, were steeped in faction and intrigue—and all the more so because the dispenser of favours was a beautiful woman. A light word, carelessly uttered but craftily repeated, was like to bring the speaker to ruin. The Court was a maze of mine and counter-mine, wherein no man, however secure in outward seeming, knew when the ground might not erupt beneath his feet. Bribery which would have shamed a Walpole or a Newcastle was the acknowledged custom. And what was true of the Court was true (though to a less extent) of the country at large, by reason of the dangerous political situation. Modern notions as to the sanctity of human life would have provoked a smile of contempt. A retainer slain by his lord in drink was no great matter. The mutilation of criminals, the branding of "incorrigible rogues" with red hot irons, and the use of torture to extract evidence, are witnesses to a general standard, which was the outcome of personal insecurity. Life was exhilarating as well as dangerous; and the Elizabethans fought to preserve themselves by every means that force and fraud could devise. Callous, crafty, acknowledging few restraints in love or hate, they were above all things virile. In almost every branch of human effort their vitality is astounding. But the brilliance of their achievement is not enhanced by attempts to eliminate the shadows. Sordid meanness and calculating treachery are to be found cheek by jowl with sublime devotion to duty and quixotic knight-errantry.

¶ What is true of the age is applicable in a striking degree to the character of the most remarkable of its children. In the personality of Walter Raleigh are concentrated in intensified form almost all the virtues and failings characteristic of his generation. He is not therefore a typical Elizabethan; indeed all but a few of his contemporaries failed to understand him. He is an epitome. For this reason it is hardly surprising that posterity has persistently misrepresented him. The seventeenth century, smarting under Stuart misgovernment, idealised the great days of Elizabeth, and revered

the name of Raleigh (himself the victim of a Stuart) as the champion and martyr of a national liberty. The legend thus established, continued to flourish as a pleasing contrast to the régime of the Hanoverians. Later, in the nineteenth century, opinion became divided. The omniscient Hume, happening upon Raleigh's description of Guiana (the most accurate of his writings) dismissed him for a liar and a cheat: on the other hand, brilliant and enthusiastic biographers tripped lightly over the dark places or turned to argue them laboriously away. In recent times the erudite scholarship of Samuel Rawson Gardiner and Sir Julian Corbett has done much to present a balanced judgement. But the legendary Sir Walter dies hard.

¶ Of all the misconceptions which distort the Raleigh of history, the notion that he was a first-rate seaman is probably the greatest. "If," writes Corbett, "by an effort hardly possible, we can free our judgement from the spell of his pen and personality in order to follow dispassionately his career at sea, it will look as cold and bare to us, as it did to those of his contemporaries who were best able to judge¹." His claim to greatness as an admiral rests mainly upon the part which he played in the naval attack upon Cadiz in 1596, when he persuaded Lord Thomas Howard to defy the forts and fall upon the Spanish fleet in the bay. His cry "Entramos," shouted to Essex as he rowed back to the *Repulse*, is famous. Unfortunately the sequel is not so praiseworthy. When delays occurred and the best of the tide was lost, Raleigh's ardour cooled and he voted for a postponement of the entry until the morrow. On this occasion it is possible to defend his caution, but Drake had been faced with precisely the same situation nine years before and went in to triumph². Furthermore, when the English fleet at last began to push its way into the harbour, Raleigh anchored so far from the galleons that it was impossible to engage them effectively—a piece of timidity which provoked the censure of Essex. From the excuses in his own narrative it is clear that his conduct was due to ignorance of naval gunnery. In the hand-to-hand fighting which followed he displayed courage of a high order: yet again, when all was over and Cadiz lay in ashes, this same timidity, arising from a lack of seamanship, voted down a proposal to sail to the Azores, and sent the great fleet home with nothing further attempted. "Had Raleigh been heart and soul for doing all that was possible, had he been ready with the quick daring of the true sea admirals to strain endurance to the end, there can be no doubt that the expedition would

¹ (Sir) J. S. Corbett, *The Successors of Drake* (London, 1900), p. 27.

² Cf. *ibid.* pp. 75-7.

not have come to the lame conclusion that was soon rendered inevitable¹." In naval affairs Raleigh has caught the ear of posterity because he brought to bear upon the subject an original and penetrating intellect and an ability to express himself with force and clarity. But we look in vain for concrete achievement to parallel the brilliance of his theories. In the autumn of 1596, when all England was agog with the rumour of a new Armada, a group of advisers were asked to furnish suggestions for a scheme of national defence. As one of those consulted, Raleigh refused to accept the general belief that invasion was intended, and to prove his contention penned a masterly thesis which set forth the strategy of Drake in clear cogent terms the like of which the hero himself (who had spent his life in putting it into practice) had never been able to lay his tongue to². Yet in less than a year Raleigh's seamanship was again found wanting. On Sunday, 10 July 1597, a great armament under Essex having set sail to deliver a decisive blow against the Spaniard, a storm blew up from the south-west. For six days Raleigh hung on to the tail of the fleet as it fought its way towards Finisterre, and then he doubled back to Plymouth—the first officer to give in. By way of excuse he wrote to the Lords of the Council and to Sir Robert Cecil a terrifying description of the raging seas. There was not another man in the fleet who could have described it as he does; but literary excellence is not the primary requisite for an admiral. He had clearly convinced himself that it was madness to expect heavy war-vessels to live in stormy seas so late in the summer. "What shalbe cume of us," he wrote, "I cannot judge, when wee shall cume together; or how wee shall repaire the wracke of this storme; the tyme of the yeare being so advanced, you, my good Lordes, can judge how wee shalbe abell to beat it up with these waighty shippes. I dare not advize³." Again, a week later when he was ready for sea again, he informed Cecil—"wee shall not bee in any great corage for winter weather and longe nights, in thes shippes⁴." Had the entire fleet been driven back to harbour by the storm, no more need have been said. Unfortunately for Raleigh's reputation this was not the case. Lord Thomas Howard, that weather-

¹ (Sir) J. S. Corbett, *The Successors of Drake* (London, 1900), p. 126.

² *Opinions Delivered by the Earl of Essex, Lord Burleigh, Ld Willoughby, Lord Burrough, Lord North, Sir William Knollys, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir George Carew on the Alarum of an Invasion from Spain...* (London, 1596). Raleigh's scheme was sound enough in theory, but it failed to take account of the unintelligent persistence of Philip II. The second Armada set sail and was, like its famous predecessor, destroyed by gales.

³ Raleigh to the Lords of Council (?) 18 July 1597. Printed by E. Edwards, *Letters of Raleigh*, p. 174.

⁴ Raleigh to Cecil, 26 July 1597, *ibid.* p. 176.

seasoned sailor, fought out the gale with his squadron and reached Coruña in triumph. As Corbett remarks, "it was beyond doubt a fine feat of seamanship and resolution, and gives Raleigh's premature retreat and his extravagant account of the gale a look that is little to his credit¹." Not to labour the matter, it may be briefly added that the same thing happened in October, 1598, when he was the only officer who allowed a storm to prevent him making the Channel, and put back into St Ives at the critical juncture; while in the following year, when the fleet was out again, his was the first ship to suffer from the gale and seek the shelter of the North Foreland. Not without cause did civil sneering Cecil dub Raleigh with the name of "Jonah." He was no coward: to his dauntless courage his career by land bears ample testimony. He was simply not a sailor.

¶ When Raleigh went to sea his custom was to take a trunkful of books in his cabin. The custom was an outward and visible sign of his character. Neither the quarter-deck nor the library was sufficient of itself. He was a genius, embodied by the caprice of Fortune in the person of an adventurer whose thirst for power and renown was unquenchable. Two stranger bedfellows in one personality could hardly be imagined. These components produced a man of such amazing complexity that all but a few of his contemporaries were startled into fear and distrust. Raleigh the genius gathered about him for metaphysical discussion such brilliant thinkers as Hariot the mathematician. The wit and grace of his conversation drew to his side the Earl of Essex, who detested him, and won the life-long friendship of Edmund Spenser. Raleigh the adventurer, on the other hand, was masterful and contemptuous. "He desired," said his friend the Earl of Northumberland, "to seem to be able to sway all men's fancies—all men's courses²." To gain his ends he would crush all opponents, would lie unblushingly, would grovel and whine despicably. The two opposing elements in his character tended to stultify each other. Save for the twelve years of enforced leisure in the Tower, his genius had little chance of growth. On the other hand, he was too much of the poet and philosopher to be a successful man of the world. In discretion he was woefully deficient. Men, who were pygmies beside him, outmatched him in intrigue and eventually brought him to ruin. Such a soul was ever in pain and discontent. Disgraced at court, he would fling away to find solace in seclusion and poesy. Soon again inaction would begin to fret his spirit: he was off to found a mighty empire in Guiana wherewith to

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 177.

² Aiken, *Memoirs of King James*, Vol. I, p. 58.

dazzle the wayward Queen to graciousness. Sir John Harington, Elizabeth's witty godson, having been estranged by Raleigh's scathing tongue, aptly portrayed this aspect of his character in an epigram.

“Because in these so malcontented times
 I please myself with private recreation,
 In reading or in sweetest contemplation,
 Or writing sometime prose, oft pleasant rimes:
Paulus, whom I have thought my friend sometimes,
 Seeks all he can to taint my reputation,
 Not with complaints, nor any heinous crimes,
 But only saying, in his scoffing fashion,
 ‘These writers that still savour of the schools
 Frame to themselves a Paradise of Fools.’
 But while he scorns our mirth in plain simplicity
 Himself doth sail to Afric and to Ind,
 And seeks with hellish pains, yet doth not find,
 That bliss in which he frames his wise felicity.
 Nor which of twain is best, some wise man tell,
 Our Paradise, or else wise *Paulus*’ hell?¹”

In the dust and heat of the political arena Raleigh's standards were no lower and no higher than those of most of his fellow courtiers. His methods were of the time, and therefore sometimes unsavoury; but the magnificence of his ends was unique. Like Wolsey, his thirst for power was mingled with intense patriotism. Conscious (too conscious, his enemies said) of his own pre-eminent gifts, he was determined that England should be great and that he must be the chosen instrument. “Raleigh and England” might well have been his motto. While his swift mind flashed like a shuttle, weaving endless mighty schemes, he fought with all his might for money, offices, and royal favour wherewith to put them into execution. It is well to recall that he belonged to a generation which was thoroughly acquainted with, and eagerly discussed, *The Prince* of Machiavelli. The clear-eyed acceptance by that author of things as they were, his conviction that actual and ideal conduct “are things so wide asunder, that he who quits the one to betake himself to the other is more likely to destroy than to save himself,” found a quick response in the ruthless logic of Raleigh's mind. And yet suffusing all the acts of this

¹ *Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Dr N. E. McClure, Epigram 61. Professor G. C. Moore-Smith's identification of *Paulus* with Raleigh (see *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 March 1927) seems incontestable.

Machiavellian politician was the other side of his character—Raleigh the artist. As such, his senses were keyed to a higher pitch than those of his fellows; the gamut of his emotions was more quickly traversed. Moods of ecstasy, serene reflection, passionate resentment, and unreasoning despair chased across his mind like bursts of storm and sunshine. His relations with Elizabeth aptly illustrate this side of his character. When the outraged Queen sent her lover to the Tower upon the discovery of his secret marriage with Mistress Throgmorton¹, he threw himself into a state of hysteria because his eyes could no longer dwell upon his royal mistress. He wrote to Cecil pouring out his misery: he was shut out from her “that he was wont to behold riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus—the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph.” Such exhibitions have been condemned as unmanly and fantastic tricks to regain favour. An element of flattery there certainly was, but the sincerity of his grief is apparent.

“So my forsaken heart, my withered mind,—
Widow of all the joys it once possessed,
My hopes clean out of sight with forced wind,
To kingdoms strange to lands far-off addressed,

* * * * *

Twelve years entire I wasted in this war;
Twelve years of my most happy younger days;
But I in them, and they now wasted are:
Of all which past, the sorrow only stays².”

As long as the sun of his favour was unclouded, his multifarious energies found vent, and he was satisfied. But a temporary rebuff was sufficient

¹ On the authority of Camden and a phrase in one of Sir Robert Cecil's letters, it has long been held that Raleigh was disgraced for having debauched Elizabeth Throgmorton (one of the Queen's maids of honour). A letter written by this lady from the Tower to Sir Moyle Finch has been brought to light which is signed E.R. not E.T., thus pointing to a secret marriage before the imprisonment. For a favourite to desert her and marry one of her tiring women was quite sufficient cause to bring down the wrath of the Queen upon the offending couple. The letter (written in Lady Raleigh's very phonetic spelling) contains the following sentence: “I asur you trewly I never desiared nor never wolde desiar my lebbarte with out the good liking ne (nor) advising of Sur W: R: hit is not this inprisonment if I bought hit with my life that shuld make me thinke hit long if hit should doo him harine to speke of my delivery: but Sur R. S(ecil?) was somewhat deseved in his Jugment in that and hit may be hee findeth his eror. . .” (*Hist. MSS Comm.*, Allan George Finch MSS, Vol. 1, pp. 33-4).

² “The Twenty-First and Last Book of the Ocean, to Cynthia” (*The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. J. Hannah, London, 1891, pp. 35, 36).

to send him into a bottomless depression from which he cried out in disgust and disillusionment at the tawdry tinsel of human ambition. All his craving is for quiet contemplation. "Rawlegh is gone into the country with bag and baggage," wrote one gossip to another, "Her Majesty caled him worse than cat and dog¹." On such occasions he would pour out his soul in passionate lament, as in his famous poem *Like Hermit Poor*.

"A gown of grief my body shall attire,
And broken hope shall be my strength and stay;
And late repentance, linked with strong desire,
Shall be the couch whereon my limbs I'll lay.
And at my gates despair shall linger still,
To let in death when love and fortune will²."

Such outbursts might ease the smart, but they did not reconcile his volcanic temperament to exile. In moments of suffering he clearly perceived the vanity of ambition, yet ambition held him until the very article of death. Of its kind there is nothing in our language to compare with the ringing scorn of *The Lie*.

"Say to the court, it glows
And shines like rotten wood;
Say to the church it shows
What's good, and doth no good:
If church and court reply,
Then give them both the lie.

Tell men of high condition,
That manage the estate,
Their purpose is ambition,
Their practice only hate:
And if they once reply,
Then give them all the lie³."

And yet the author could never be content to turn away from it all. Every artifice of his subtle brain was utilised to worm a way back among the men of high condition upon whose rottenness he poured such scorn. When after the accession of James he was condemned (in a disgraceful trial) for participation in the plot to put Arabella Stuart on the throne,

¹ R. Adderley to W. Bagot, 9 June 1600 (*Hist. MSS Comm.*, Lord Bagot MSS, 4th Report, p. 334).

² Hannah's edition (*ut supra*), p. 13.

³ *Ibid.* p. 24.

exactly the same attitude is revealed. The serenity of the opening stanza of the *Pilgrimage*, which he then wrote, is sublime.

“Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope’s true gage;
And thus I’ll take my pilgrimage¹.”

But the serenity is soon abandoned. After a grotesque description of heaven with its pathways “strowed with rubies thick as gravel” (probably a satire on conventional ideas), he descends to a furious attack upon his judges. In heaven no corrupted voices brawl; there false accusers are not bought or sold, for Christ is the King’s Attorney—

“Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath angels but no fees.”

A temperament thus curiously compacted excited widespread antagonism. His fearless independence of mind, which contemptuously refused to substitute dogma for reason, reduced the ordinary man to silence, but earned his hatred. Worse still, his dangerous gift of repartee, incisive as a rapier, frequently wounded worthy characters like Harington, who would have been glad to love the nobility and generosity of his nature. Scorn combined with ability roused the fear and hatred of politicians who took advantage of his lack of discretion to plot his downfall. On occasion the smart of his scorn was bestowed upon an object who thoroughly deserved it, as in the case of Charles Chester, a notorious bore. The story is inimitably narrated by Sir Nicholas Lestrangle. “Charles Chester, a Court Foole in Queen Elizabeth’s time, us’d to be girding very often at my Lord Knolls and Sir Walter Raleigh. Sayes Sir Walter Raleigh, ‘My Lord gett but this foole to dinner one day, and you shall see what a tricke wee’le serve him.’ So he did; and when his paunch was well fill’d (for he was a notable trencher man), and he went out of the chamber, Sir Walter Raleigh followed him. ‘Come, Sirrah,’ sayes he, ‘now wee’l be revenged on you for all your rogerie’; and having some servantes by, tyed him hand and foote, sett him right up in a corner, called a mason or two, built him up presently to the chinne, and so close as he could not move, and threat’ned to cover him in, but that he begged hard and swore he would abuse them no more; so they lett him stand

¹ *Ibid.* p. 72.

till night¹." At other times the chastisement, while not so drastic, was inflicted upon opponents infinitely more dangerous.

¶ Even scholars and men of letters, to whom Raleigh was most akin, viewed him with distrust. They admired him for a poet and a philosopher, but deplored the prostitution of his talents. Their opinion was well expressed by one Thomas Scott in some verses which he sent to Raleigh in the Tower on the publication of his *History of the World*.

"In greatness thou art lost, as in a wood;
Treadinge the paths of flattery, falshood, blood.
The way to Heaven neglected, thou didst stray
As others now doe in thy Politick way.
But now thou'st found thyselfe; and wee have found
That sicknes taught thee Art to make men sound.
For hadst thou never fall'ne th' hadst nevr writt.
Nor hadst thou cleer'd, but clouded us with witt.
But now thy falshood hath the truth so showne
That a true World from a false World is known²."

In all the activities of this highly-strung and excitable man there is one common factor, his unquenchable energy. As Sir Robert Cecil once remarked, "he can toil terribly." Complete concentration upon the task in hand is the prime requisite for success in any field. That aptitude Raleigh exhibited to an extraordinary degree whether the task was noble or sordid. His rise to power was therefore exceptionally rapid. After fighting on the side of the Huguenots in France, he appeared at Court for a while, and then repaired to Ireland in the hope of attracting attention by gaining military distinction in that troubled land. There he quickly won prominence by his daring and powers of leadership; but, like most Elizabethans, he regarded the Irish rebels as noisome

¹ "Merry Passages and Jests, compiled by Sir Nicholas Lestrangle from accounts of his Friends" (Harleian MSS, No. 6395, printed in *Anecdotes and Traditions illustrative of Early English History and Literature...*, ed W. J. Thomas, F.S.A., Camden Soc. 1839, p. 56). Aubrey (*Lives*, Vol. II, p. 514) gives a better known variant of the story: "In his (Jonson's) youthful time was one Charles Chester... he was a bold impertinent fellowe, and they could never be at quiet for him, a perpetual talker, and made a noyse like a drum in a roome: so one time at a taverne Sir W. R. beates him & seales up his mouth, i.e. his upper and neather beard, with hard wax." From Chester Ben Jonson took his Carlo Buffone in *Every Man out of his Humour* (cf. Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, Oxford, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 383-4).

² Bodleian MSS, 14520 (Rawl. Poet. 26), f. 6. Endorsed, "Mr Thomas Scott sent these verses, by the hand of Dr John White to Sir Walter Raleigh upon the setting forth of his Booke of the History of the World."

pests, whose extermination was eminently justifiable. On his return to Court in 1582, he became almost immediately one of the chief favourites of the Queen. In what way he originally caught her eye is as uncertain as it is unimportant. Fuller's famous story of the rich cloak cast down upon the plashy shore at Greenwich is unsupported by contemporary evidence, and Naunton's account of Raleigh's brilliant display at the Council Board on Irish policy is similarly lacking in corroboration. Both are quite possible. Within a short time the new lover (for such he undoubtedly was) received substantial marks of his mistress's favour. He was knighted, made Captain of the Guard, Seneschal of the County of Cornwall and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. Soon, too, he was a wealthy man; twelve thousand acres of the forfeited estates of the Earls of Desmond were granted to him as well as the lucrative monopoly of wines. Thus established, he quickly gained an ugly reputation for rapacity. Doubtless some of the details were inspired by envy and malice, but there is documentary evidence to prove a general basis of truth. According to one story, Raleigh, having unsuccessfully demanded a lease of the manor of Banwell from Dr Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells, bided his time until the aged prelate committed the indiscretion of marrying a young girl. Thereupon Raleigh reported the occurrence to the Queen, who was a strong believer in the celibacy of the clergy, and held the Bishop to ransom. The latter, to buy his peace and to save Banwell, agreed in 1585 to lease Wilscombe for ninety-nine years¹. In support of the story there are two letters in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, which show that Elizabeth virtually compelled Godwin to surrender Wilscombe for her favourite². Similar methods were employed by Elizabeth and Raleigh to extort the Sherborne estates (upon which the latter had set his heart) from the bishopric of Salisbury. For three years the see lay vacant and was refused by two men to whom it was offered, because of the Queen's condition that the recipient must part with Sherborne. At last in 1591 a more complaisant candidate was found in Dr Coldwell. Having bribed Elizabeth with a handsome present to agree to the appoint-

¹ The authority is Sir John Harington, "A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England..." (*Nugae Antiquae*, London, 1779 edn, Vol. 1). Cf. Anthony à Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 1, column 710.

² See John Wolley to the Dean and Chapter, 13 June 1585 (*Hist. MSS Comm.* Dean and Chapter of Wells MSS, Vol. II, pp. 307-8). The letter states that the Queen had previously asked for Wilscombe for Raleigh but had been refused. Being now informed that the Bishop is proposing to lease the manor to his own son, he is accordingly ordered to refrain from any such action until her pleasure be further known. The inevitable result was the lease of Wilscombe to the Queen for ninety-nine years (*ibid.* p. 309).

ment, Raleigh was promptly rewarded by his client with the coveted lease. Nor did the matter end here. In 1599 Coldwell's successor, Bishop Henry Cotton, was browbeaten into surrendering the lease and granting the fee to the Queen, who immediately conveyed it to Raleigh¹. Such transactions added the Church to the rapidly increasing list of his enemies.

¶ The far-reaching schemes which Raleigh entertained for his own and his country's aggrandisement depended for their fulfilment upon the possession of power and material resources. One of his chief sources of wealth was privateering, which he conducted as a regular business throughout his career. Under the Tudors, sea-robbery became an established occupation, financed and organised by merchants and courtiers. Between their activities and acts of lawless piracy there existed a delicate but clearly recognised line of demarcation. To rob the enemies of the English sovereign or any other ruler who would issue commissions to that effect was legal: the indiscriminate preying upon shipping was not. As a recent writer has remarked, a man was either lawful and respectable, or unlawful and a felon. "If the former, his veneration for the law was so great that he made it the keeper of his conscience and did without a qualm any unjust thing it allowed him to do²." The attitude of Raleigh and the hard-bitten sailors of Devon whom he employed was exactly this. Again and again they stretched the limits of the law almost to breaking point. As early as 1579 Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh were in trouble with the Council for allowing their people to seize the ship and cargo of a Spanish merchant, "Gonzalo de Sevilla," out of Warfleet Cove³. With the outbreak of open war with Spain, privateering became not only lucrative but patriotic. In 1596 two ships, the *Serpent* and the *Mary Sparke*, which had been sent out by Raleigh from Plymouth, brought three prizes into Southampton, laden with "ollyvants tuche," "cotton woll," "gotskynes" and other valuable commodities⁴. The defeat of the Armada two years later naturally gave an enormous impetus to such enterprises. Raleigh redoubled his efforts, and in so doing overstepped the limits of legality.

¹ See, The Queen to the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter of Sarum, 25 July 1599 (*Hist. MSS Comm. Various Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 371). Sir John Harington bitterly attacked Raleigh for his greed, and the two bishops for their weakness (*Nugae Antiquae*, Vol. 1, pp. 104-9).

² J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins, The Time and the Man* (Oxford, 1927), p. 68.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council* (New Series), Vol. xi, 1578-80, pp. 142-3.

⁴ *The Book of Examinations*, 1601-2, ed. R. C. Anderson (Southampton Record Soc. 1926), p. xxxi.

In July 1589 the Lords of Council ordered him to surrender a barque from Olonne which he had bought from her captor, "and to receive his money back again that he had paid for the same¹." A fortnight later another letter was addressed to Raleigh and one John Chidley, "signifying her Majestie's expresse comaundement that they restore forthwith the two barkes of Sherburghe which they have taken and detained from two of the French Kinges subjectes and that yt is her Majesties pleasure that no cause of grief be ministred unto anie of the said King's subjectes in respect of the good amitie and correspondencie betweene them, their Realmes and people²." In this same year a certain Albert Reynardson and his partners sued Sir Walter in the Admiralty Court for the seizure by one of his captains of a ship sailing under Dutch colours. His indignant defence was on the usual lines: the crew were Spaniards in disguise³. Again, in 1592 one "Piere de Hody, a merchant of Bayon" sued for, and probably obtained, redress for the loss of a ship and cargo at Raleigh's hands⁴.

¶ In all these four cases Raleigh and his captains had some show of justification. The seizure of French ships was just within the law, for the English authorities made a distinction between ships belonging to ports which were held by the League and those owned by supporters of Henry of Navarre. Similarly, with regard to Reynardson's 'Dutch' vessel, it is to be remembered that the doctrine of 'contraband of war' was enforced and that a strict search was made of all those who sailed as neutrals. When Raleigh's principal captain, Jacob Whiddon, reported to the Council that he had captured "two great hulkes" from Sweden, he was ordered, "in as quiett and freindly manner as you maie with lest offence to the owners," to make careful search below the cargo of timber for stores intended for the enemy⁵. But no such justification can be urged in defence of an act of sheer piracy which was committed under Raleigh's authority in the winter of 1599. On this occasion a Venetian vessel, containing cargo to the value of £30,000, was attacked and captured. The Venetians were already in dispute with the English on certain other matters and this lawless act applied the final spark to their exasperation. They seized eight ships of our Turkey merchants to make recompense. "I am sorry," wrote John Chamberlain in relating the incident, "we

¹ *Acts of Privy Council* (New Series), Vol. xvii, 1588-9, p. 417.

² *Ibid.* Vol. xviii, pp. 15-16.

³ Proceedings of the Admiralty Courts, reported in Lansdowne MSS (Brit. Mus.), Vol. cxliv, ff. 57-60 (printed by E. Edwards, *Letters of Raleigh*, pp. 415-17).

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council* (New Series), Vol. xxiii, 1592, p. 57.

⁵ *Ibid.* (New Series), Vol. xix, pp. 386-7. (10 August 1590.)

should have any difference with a comon-wealth so generally esteemed for justice and wisdom¹."

¶ Equally inexcusable was a piece of flagrant dishonesty which he countenanced in 1589. Barnard Drake and his associates, having undertaken a voyage to Newfoundland, returned with several prizes. Raleigh and Sir John Gilbert were commissioned by the Council to supervise the sale of the ships and their cargoes and to distribute the proceeds among the several adventurers. Soon a serious complaint was lodged against the commissioners, which the Council promptly took up. "Now for that yt had ben manyfestly approved unto their Lordships that one Amyas Preston, gentleman, then serving in the said service, did of himselfe adventure ccxx^{li} in the same, and that he (Gilbert) and Sir Walter Rawleighe have taken into their possession all the said shippes and goodes so seized by vertue of that Commision, and did not according to the same make delivery of the said goodes unto the Adventurers, Masters and Marriners, but as their Lordships were informed, retained their partes or the most parte thereof to their owne uses, whereby the saide Preston had ben driven to complaine,"—Gilbert is ordered to make immediate restitution of the capital and a proper proportion of the profits. When the order was ignored, he was commanded to appear before the Council. When that too produced no effect, a stern reprimand was issued. "You neither have satisfyed the gentleman nor obeyed the commaundement you receaved for your repaire hether." His instant attendance with a full statement of the accounts was required². It was, in fact, a peculiarly odious case of embezzlement. Evidently Gilbert was the prime mover in the business, but Raleigh cannot escape his own share of the responsibility.

¶ A vivid side-light upon Sir Walter's reputation for sharp practice is furnished in a contemporary diary. "A lewde fellowe," we are told, "coming before Sir Walter Rawley to be examined concerninge some wrecke which he had gotten into his handes, and being demaunded whether he woud sweare to such articles as they would propound, answered that he woud sweare to anie thinge they woud aske him; and then

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton (19 February 1600), *Domestic Correspondence*, printed in *Letters written by John Chamberlain during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Sarah Williams (Camden Soc. 1861), pp. 68–9. Cf. letter to Thos. Hinson (2 March 1600): "The Venetians have stayed eight of our Turkey merchants ships to make recompense for a ship of 30,000 l of goods taken by a bark of Sir Walter Raleigh under pretence of prizes" (*Hist. MSS Comm.*, Duke of Portland MSS, Vol. II, p. 21).

² *Acts of the Privy Council* (New Series), Vol. XVII, 1588–9, pp. 283–4 (18 June 1589), pp. 412–13 (20 July).

being admonished he should not be soe rashe in soe serious a matter as concerned his soule soe nearely, 'Fayth,' said he, 'I had rather trust God with my soule, then you with my goods'¹." Indeed money-making by such methods formed one of the principal sources of Raleigh's income. His captains continued to be sent out on privateering expeditions until a few months of his arrest and trial for treason in 1603. In 1590 he is found in partnership with the Earl of Pembroke, and quarrelling with the City Fathers of Southampton who had seized some of their prize goods². In the spring of 1602 he was investing money in several expeditions with Sir Robert Cecil, who was always anxious that his participation should be both lucrative and secret³. Raleigh's addiction to privateering could not fail to supply his enemies with matter for gibing. When he twitted Harington with purloining his ideas from Martial and others, the retort was obvious.

"Proud *Paulus* late, my secrecies revealing,
Hath told I got some good conceits by stealing.
But where got he those double Pistolets
With which good clothes, good fare, good land he gets?
'Tush, those,' he saith, 'came by a man of war
That brought a prize of price from countries far.'
Then, fellow Thief, let's shake together hands,
Sith both our wares are filcht from foreign lands.
You'll spoil the Spaniards by your writ of Mart,
And I the Romans rob by wit and art⁴."

Privateering of another sort was also included in Raleigh's money-making methods. Bribery being the acknowledged method of securing concessions in Tudor times, it is not surprising to find him holding wealthy offenders

¹ "Diary of John Manningham 1602-3" (Harleian MSS, Brit. Mus., No. 5353), ed. J. Bruce (Camden Soc. 1868), pp. 33-4. It is however only fair to Raleigh to point out that Manningham may have distorted the story to make it refer specifically to Raleigh when it may actually have related to the Queen's officers in general. Camden (*Annals*, 1592) related that the sailors who captured the rich treasure ship *Madre de Dios* purloined a large part of its cargo, ignoring all oaths and proclamations and boldly confessing "They had rather trust their souls to a merciful God by perjury, than their fortunes to the hands of unmerciful men" (quoted by Oldys, *Life of Raleigh*, Oxford edn, 1829, Vol. I, p. 157).

² *Letters of the 15th and 16th Centuries from the Archives of Southampton* (Southampton Record Soc. 1921), ed. R. C. Anderson, pp. 175, 181, 182. (Calendared, *Hist. MSS Comm.*, 11th Report, App. Part. III, pp. 125-6.)

³ See *Assembly Books of Southampton*, 1609-1610, Vol. II, p. xxiv (Southampton Record Soc. 1920), ed. Dr J. W. Horrocks, and *Hist. MSS Comm.*, MSS of Marquis of Salisbury, Part XII, pp. 118-19.

⁴ N. E. McClure, *Harington's Epigrams (ut supra)*, Ep. 126.

to ransom by virtue of his influence with the Queen. When the plotter Babington had been caught and convicted in 1586, he promised "Master Rawley" a thousand pounds if he could get his pardon. Whether the attempt was made does not appear; but it is certain that he received a large sum for procuring the pardon of Sir Edward Bainham, who was implicated with Essex in his mad attempt at rebellion in 1601. The methods to which he descended in order to secure the promised reward was revealed in the letter written in his own hand. Comment is needless.

"To the right worshipfull Mr Atorney Generall."

"Mr Atorney, it would greatly expedite my business for Baynam if you would so pleas to write me a few lines to this effect; Yt whereas I entreated you to know whether her Maiestye might reape any profit by Baynham's deathe, or wher Baynham weare farther in in any of thes treasons then the comon sort of ye Lord of Essex servants and followers, you will awnswere that you have looked into his estate and have deliverd your knowledge. For the land in Essex you shall order it as it shall pleas you.

Your most assured loving friend,

W. Raleigh.

Durham House this M(on)day (M)orni(n)g¹."

Such is one side of Raleigh's character, a side which could be elaborated by showing that his rapacity was matched by a consummate skill in lying. Yet were it possible to end the matter here, his character would have been far less complex than it actually was. It is true that for money, and the power that money brings, he would stoop to measures that arouse our disgust. On the other hand, it is equally true that in private as in public Raleigh was remarkable for his liberality. What he grasped so eagerly with one hand he gave away with corresponding profusion with the other. A host of scholars and artists such as Richard Hakluyt, junior, John Case the musician, Hooker the antiquary, Jacques Morgues the painter, and Hariot the mathematician and philosopher, received encouragement and support at his hands. Not always was his favour with the Queen exerted in return for hard cash. His intervention on behalf of John Udal, a

¹ *Hist. MSS Comm.*, MSS of Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Various Collections, Vol. iv, p. 325. Until the Commissioners unearthed this letter, Camden's assertions—"Baynham redeemed (his life) with a sum of money paid to Raleigh" (*Annals*, 1601) and "'tis said Bainham paid Raleigh for his Pardon" (*History of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 636)—were regarded as being founded on little more than current rumour.

puritan divine who was in peril for criticising the ways of bishops, is a case in point. "When Sir Walter," asked Elizabeth on another occasion, "will you cease to be a beggar?" "When your gracious Majesty," came the reply, "ceases to be a benefactor." He scorned the rabble, mocked the muddle-headed, and preyed upon the fat of purse, but the common folk who served him loved him as their father¹, and his personal friends followed him to death. No man without nobility could have won and kept for a life-time the unswerving devotion of such a noble woman as Raleigh's wife.

¶ "He can toil terribly." That is the keynote of his life. Into every scheme which he concocted he threw the full weight of his energy, "as if he lived only for that." His vast Irish estates, twelve thousand acres in extent, were peopled by industrious tenants, transplanted by him from Devon and Somerset. There he planted the first potatoes ever set in Ireland, and there too he endeavoured to establish a great export trade of pipestaves and barrel boards. Again, as Lord Warden of the Stannaries, he tackled the disorderly mass of regulations under which the mines of the Duchy of Cornwall were worked, and produced a reformed code which was in use long after his death. At Sherborne he busied himself in rounding off his estate by buying up adjacent manors, "in drawing the River through rocks into his garden²" and in building a stately mansion, where (alas) he hoped that generations of Raleighs would live and die. Whether he was leading a debate in the Commons, devising an empire in Virginia or Guiana, or struggling for favour at Court, his schemes were always original and far-reaching: he always played with feverish intensity and for high stakes. Imperiously he demanded to be master, "to sway all men's fancies—all men's courses."

¶ It is the tragedy of Raleigh's career that he never won the mastery upon which he had set his heart. The versatility of his genius enabled him to travel many roads with equal ease. Lesser men achieved greater distinction because their limitations and their temperaments obliged them to concentrate. An illustration of this is to be found in the political sphere. Raleigh's gift of seeing visions in the cold light of common sense would seem to mark him out as a statesman of far greater capacity than many

¹ Cf. the remark of Sir Robert Cecil (no friend of his) when reporting Raleigh's arrival in Devon to take charge of the spoils captured in the *Madre de Dios*: "I assure you, Sir, his poor servants, to the number of a hundred and forty goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with such shouts and joy, as I never saw a man more troubled to quiet them in my life" (quoted by E. Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*, Vol. I, p. 154).

² *Nugae Antiquae*, Vol. I, p. 105.

of his rivals. His speeches in the Commons, both on foreign policy and in domestic affairs, frequently anticipated the ideas of politicians of the nineteenth century. In all cases they reveal a keen far-seeing mind which refused to be swayed by unthinking clamour or prejudice. In an age which clung to the mediaeval notion of the necessity for controlling industry by regulation, he preached something akin to the doctrine of *laissez faire*. During the second reading of a bill providing for the compulsory cultivation of hemp, he protested: "For my part, I do not like this constraining of men to use their grounds at our wills. Rather let every man use his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion." Continuing, he pointed out the evil results which had arisen from recent attempts to legislate against the conversion of arable land into pasture. At another time he had the temerity to advocate a free trade in corn. He ridiculed with biting satire the impracticability of another bill, "for more diligent repair to church on Sundays." Similarly he protested against the bitter persecution of the Brownists (for whom he held no brief) as being at once unfair and impossible of application. "It is to be feared that men not guilty will be included in it. The law is hard that taketh life, or sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions shall be judged by a jury; and they shall be judges what another man meant." A balanced and independent judgement of this sort naturally won respect, and in many crises his advice was sought at the Council board. But the dearest wish of his life—to be recognised as a serious statesman and to be created a Privy Councillor—was never gratified. The reason is not far to seek. No one ever understood men better than Elizabeth and she knew Raleigh intimately. The man who loved her was an artist with an artist's temperament. In politics she preferred a Burleigh or a Walsingham.

¶ The greatness of Raleigh is therefore to be sought (save for the outstanding exception of his colonial enterprises) not in action but in the mind. The nature and extent of the influence of his thought has never been adequately assessed; nor will it be, until the historian is aided by the literary specialist and the philosopher. Raleigh's ethical teaching, whether he knew it or not, was derived from Erasmus, More and Colet and the Platonic academists of Florence. It consists in the extension to the ethical and religious sphere of that attack upon scholasticism which had been so effective on its intellectual side. Raleigh was at one with these masters in their desire to eliminate superstition, and to depend, as far as is compatible with true religion, on the intellect to justify the received truths of Christianity. Unfortunately the teaching of the Oxford

Reformers had been nullified by the distorted version of Aristotelianism which still prevailed. The time was not yet ripe for courageous critical enquiry, and dogmatism retained its supremacy. Calvin and Knox, more anxious for the spiritual salvation of men than for their intellectual freedom, had opposed one system of dogma by erecting another. The Renaissance spirit of critical enquiry was not, however, dead. Largely owing to Italian influence and the increasing acquaintance with Greek thought, a distinct reaction took place during the later decades of the sixteenth century—a reaction which in the religious sphere reached its climax with the Cambridge Platonists. One of the leaders of that revolt was Sir Walter Raleigh. In place of the traditional attitude of *ipse dixit*, he instinctively adopted a method of approach which relied on clear reasoning served by imagination. His penetrating intellect impatiently swept aside all notions and arguments built on an arbitrary and dogmatic basis. As with every independent thinker, the process in its first stages was negative and destructive. He, and his intellectual circle, known as the “school of night,” accordingly questioned and rejected many accepted tenets of Christian faith. The point of view is admirably expressed in Raleigh’s treatise, *The Sceptic*, which anticipates the eighteenth century ideas of Berkeley on objective reality. Why should I presume, he asks, to prefer my perception to those of other living creatures because things appear to them otherwise than to me?

¶ “They are living creatures as well as I: why then should I condemn their conceit and phantasy concerning any thing, more than they may mine? they may be in truth and I in error, as well as I in truth and they err. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs: and this truth must be either by demonstration, or without it. Without it none will believe: certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to allege that for a certain proof which is uncertain and questionable seemeth absurd¹.”

¶ The similarity of this attitude with that of Montaigne is very striking, and is one more example of the essential unity underlying the various manifestations of the Renaissance spirit. The negative conclusions which frequently resulted from such a process aroused the fury of the orthodox, who execrated Raleigh as an “atheist².” In point of fact the strength of

¹ *The Sceptic, The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt, now first collected* (Oxford, 1829), Vol. viii, p. 551.

² Until the publication of the *History of the World*, the belief in Raleigh’s atheism was

his intellect was only paralleled by the depth of his religious sense. Both of these aspects, his relentless adherence to logical reasoning and his craving for insight into spiritual truth, are illustrated in a deposition laid before a commission of enquiry, which was held at Cerne in Dorset to examine into charges against Raleigh and his circle. Therein the minister of Winterbor, Ralph Ironside, describes an after-dinner argument upon the nature of the soul, which had arisen between himself and Raleigh at the house of Sir George Trenchard. Carew Raleigh having questioned Ironside's assumption of the existence of the soul, Sir Walter pressed the latter to expound his view. As a definition of the soul he offered "*fons et principium*, the fountaine beginninge and cawse of motion in us." Being urged to go further, he fell back upon Aristotle. The reasonable soul was *actus primus corporis organici animantis humani vitam habentis in potentia*. "Yea, but what is that spirituall and immortall substance breathed into man etc., saith Sir Walter. The soule, quoth I. Naye then, saith he, you aunswer not like a scholler." The worthy but confused Ironside then endeavoured to justify his position until Raleigh burst in again. "We have principles in our mathematickes as 'the whole is greater than the part' . . . aske me of it and I can shoue it, in the table." Yet for all his muddle-headedness, the parson was nearer to the truth than Raleigh, as his next answer showed. Mathematical processes, he said, were inapplicable when examining the nature of man's soul, which "being insensible was to be discerned by the sperite." The spirit of man, proceeded Ironside, was an emanation from the spirit of God, the *Ens Entium*. "Yea, but what is this *Ens Entium*? sayeth Sir Walter. I answered, It is God." At that point Raleigh gave up in despair and ended the argument with characteristic vigour. "Being disliked as beliked as before, Sir Walter wished that grace myght be sayed, for that, quoth he, is better than this disputacon¹." ¶ Among those who were pilloried along with Raleigh was Christopher Marlowe. The closeness of the personal contact between the two is well

widespread. Cf. "Certaine hellish verses devysed by that Atheist and traitor Rawley as yt is said:

'Then some sage man amonge the vulgarr
Knowing that lawes could not in quiet dwell
Unles they were observed did first devyse
The name of god, religion, heaven and hell.'

(*Hist. MSS Comm.*, Marquis of Bath MSS, Vol. II, pp. 52-3; another copy in Addit. MSS, Brit. Mus., No. 32092, f. 201).

¹ Harleian MSS, Brit. Mus., No. 6849, f. 187 b et seqq. (Ironside's deposition), f. 185 (deposition of Nicholas Jeffreys, parson of Weikey Regis, who was also present). Printed by F. C. Danchin, *Revue Germanique*, 1913, pp. 581-2, 584-5.

attested by documentary evidence, but the degree of their mental affinity has not yet been thoroughly examined. "If there was any mind in Elizabethan England," a recent writer has remarked, "that could command or impress Marlowe's, whose leadership he would have consented to follow even in part, that mind was Raleigh's. And the darker and graver personality of Raleigh is the only one of his contemporaries that outstrips Marlowe's in originality and independence of spirit¹." Disgusted by the hair-splitting rhetoric and rigid discipline which he found at Cambridge, Marlowe rose in revolt. His ruthlessly scientific mind waged war upon all superstitions and traditional "bugbeares," which "keep men in awe." In that he was at one with Raleigh. Both rejected the dogmatism of Elizabethan Christianity, which in their eyes was a mockery. These Christians, Marlowe observes, "in their deeds deny him for their Christ." "Say to the church it shows what's good, and doth no good," cries Raleigh. Both cleared away the ground with a destructiveness that was as fierce as it was honest, for each, like Faust (the incarnation of the Renaissance spirit), was bent upon

"Still climbing after knowledge infinite."

As far as his writings indicate, Marlowe met his death before the period of negation was superseded by constructive thought. Raleigh, on the other hand, lived on to build a great edifice which was in its essence Platonic, or rather neo-Platonic. For him God came to be the universal and eternal Reason,—“a Power ineffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie invisible, and Understanding which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall².” The Divine Reason, or *νοῦς*, is “all for ever causing and all for ever sustaining³.” Man's reason is God's supreme gift whereby Truth may be partially but increasingly discerned by the exercise of intellectual effort and purifying moral discipline. Spiritual perception is impossible in a life concerned with “the false and durelesse pleasures of this stage-play World.” His sombre mind, disillusioned by adversity, dwelt upon the terrible nemesis which followed obsession in such allurements.

¶ “Neither have those beloved companions of honor and riches any power at all, to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but what crooked paths soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death; whose doors lye open at all houres, and to

¹ Miss V. M. Ellis-Fermor, *Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1927), p. 166.

² *The History of the World* (London, 1614), 1st Book, Chap. I, § i, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.* Chap. vi, § iii, p. 81.

all persons. For this tyde of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but never floweth againe: our Leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne us againe, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers."

¶ In this and other passages of similar beauty he depicts the recurring tragedy. But men are not like rats in a trap. If there be no reality save Truth (which is a *κόσμος*), man is free to fashion himself after the Divine Image by a progressive discernment of that reality.

¶ "God set before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to bee his owne Guide, his own Workman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or describe unto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme¹."

¶ In thus asserting that God was Light and man a rational being who, by virtue of that faculty, was capable of continuous progress by focussing within himself the beams which emanated from the Light, Raleigh was far removed from the current belief that truth could only be communicated to man by revelation in the Scriptures. Equally opposed are his views to the Calvinistic theory of predestination. He was, in fact, enunciating ideas that were identical with the teaching of the Cambridge Platonists some fifty years later. With him as with them the human faculty of reason was the ultimate authority and also the token of man's kinship with God.

¶ "By this (the understanding)," writes Raleigh, "we speak and knit words and sentences together; by this we learn arts and devise infinite works, and number, & dispute, and foresee, and mount to heaven. This it is wherein the glory and excellency of man especially standeth; this, together with the will, is that about the garnishing and perfecting whereof all our pain & labour is bestowed; this is proper, together with the will, the breath of life, which God breathed into the face of man; this is the spirit which returneth unto God that gave it²."

¶ Parallels to this passage in the writings of the Cambridge School leap to the eye. One example must suffice. "The notions," wrote John Smith, "which we have of a mind i.e. something within us that thinks, apprehends, reasons and discourses, are so clear and distinct from all those notions which we can fasten upon a body, that we can easily conceive that if all body-being in the world were destroyed, yet we might then as well subsist

¹ *The History of the World* (London, 1614), 1st Book, Chap. II, § v, pp. 26-7.

² "A treatise of the Soul," *Works* (Oxford, 1829), Vol. VIII, p. 587.

as we now do." "Those breathings and gaspings after an eternal participation of Him are but the energy of His own breath within us¹." Like them, again, he was convinced that intellectual processes were not sufficient of themselves. Reason must include the spiritual discernment of conscience, which can only be developed by holy living.

¶ "And though Nature, according to common understanding, has made us capable by the power of Reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of God's goodnesse...yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and duresse pleasures of this stage-play World, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's wisdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, *formed eyes to our soules* as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the ever-enduring Glory, and termelesse Joy, prepared for those, which retaine the Image and similitude of their Creatour²."

¶ Again, in a letter to Cecil he wrote: "The minde of man is that part of God which is in us, by how much it is subject to passion, by so much is it farther from Hyme that gave it us." Conscience, then (the eyes of the soul), depends for the truth of its vision upon right doing. Both Raleigh and the Cambridge thinkers dwell with earnest insistence upon this dictum. "Our measure of Divine light," wrote Benjamin Whichcote, "is conditioned by our advance in the Divine life." "This manner of similitude," wrote Raleigh, "and Image of God is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sin." Raleigh, like Bacon, broke away from the Aristotelian method of dogmatic abstraction³. Unlike him, however, he extended the bounds of philosophy into the realm of religion. By so doing he became the greatest ethical philosopher of his time and one of the first teachers of Christian Platonism in England.

¶ The degree of Raleigh's direct influence upon the religious thinkers who succeeded him has not yet been (and perhaps cannot be) determined. That he profoundly impressed the generality of educated men in the

¹ "Discourse of the immortality of the Soul," quoted by F. J. Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists* (London, 1926), pp. 101, 102.

² *The History of the World* (*ut supra*) Chap. II, § II, p. 23.

³ The mental affinity of Raleigh and Francis Bacon has long been recognised. "Both of them owed to the force of their own minds their emancipation from the fetters of the schools; and both were eminently distinguished above their contemporaries by the originality and enlargement of their philosophical views" (Dugald Stewart, *Dissertation on the History of Metaphysical & Ethical Philosophy*, quoted by Macvey Napier, *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 71, p. 96).

seventeenth century is beyond question. That gigantic classic, *The History of the World*, which was undertaken when a prisoner in broken health and over fifty years of age, was received with enthusiasm on all sides. Anglican dignitaries such as Bishop Hall and Dr John White hailed it as a noble work. But it was among the Puritans of the next generation that he was received with the greatest favour. "Recreate yourself," wrote Oliver Cromwell to his son Richard, "with Sir Walter Raleigh's *History*; it is a body of history, and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of story." John Hampden thought so highly of Raleigh's writing that he ordered the transcription of 3452 pages of it¹. Under the year 1618 Pym entered in his note book: "Sir Walter Raleigh had the favour to be beheaded at Westminster, where he dyed with great applause of the beholders, most constantly, most religiously, most christianly²." John Eliot, who witnessed that tragic scene, wrote of it in even more exalted terms in the *Monarchy of Man* twelve years later. Milton not only made a close study of Raleigh's poetry but also printed his essays. And if the theory of a modern critic be true, that the author of *Paradise Lost* and *Regained* exhibited distinctly modernist conceptions under the cloak of conventional symbols³, then this fact is even more suggestive. On the whole, however, it seems clear that this generation of Puritans revered the memory of Raleigh, not for his system of philosophy, but rather as being the epitome of the Elizabethan Age, whose glory was departed. The man who had incurred the enmity of bishops, the man who was the founder of imperial greatness, who was the sworn foe of Spain and victim of Spanish vengeance at the hands of a Stuart, was naturally idolised by the politicians who framed the Petition of Right. Though no champion of liberty as it came to be understood in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, his political opinions had much in common with the views of the earlier Puritan leaders. Under cover of a courtier-like humility, Raleigh offered James some very unpalatable advice in his *Prerogative of Parliaments*. While accepting the claims of royal prerogative, he strongly condemned the employment of worthless favourites and the packing of the House by royal nominees; he defended the privilege of free speech and urged the King to raise money by consent of Parliament. "If they be contented to whip themselves for the King, were it not better to give them the rod into their hands, than to commit them to the executioner?⁴"

¹ *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (1909), Vol. iv, pp. 54-5.

² *Hist. MSS Comm.* 10th Report, App. Part vi, Bouverie MSS, p. 85.

³ D. Saurat, *Milton, Man and Thinker* (London, 1924).

⁴ *The Prerogative of Parliaments* (*Works*, Oxford, 1829, Vol. VIII, p. 213).

¶ As the century wore on, Raleigh was therefore idealised¹. He came to be regarded as the proto-martyr of national freedom, which he was not. His avarice, his duplicity, and his readiness to gain an end by any means, however sordid, was swallowed up in the memory of his essential greatness. It is the Puritan tradition of the seventeenth century which is mainly responsible for the one-sided portrait of Raleigh which persists to this day. That tradition survived and flourished largely because the hero was a man of letters, and as such captured the imagination of those who wrote about him. It is significant that his biographers, who soaked themselves in the charm and pathos of his books and correspondence, criticise little and eulogise much, whereas the writers of general history invariably paint a more balanced picture.

¶ The greatest of the Puritans, Oliver Cromwell, did more than admire the last of the Elizabethans; he set himself to translate into reality his most ambitious scheme—the establishment of a British Empire in South America. Raleigh's career as a coloniser is too well known to require detailed description. His first interest in the subject was undoubtedly derived from his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with whom he co-operated in the endeavour to discover the North-west Passage. The idea of tapping the rich trade of China and India by a route not already dominated by Portuguese and Spaniards had long been present in the minds of English adventurers. As early as 1527 John Rut had attempted to open a passage to the Orient by the north-west, and in 1553 Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor had braved the ice-floes of the north-east to the same end. Pondering upon these matters, Gilbert in 1565 wrote his well-known *Discourse to prove a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia and the East Indies*. With the mixture of mediaeval credulity and business acumen, which is typical of the sixteenth century, the author summons many strange persons and arguments to support his case. At the same time he lays down a number of very practical advantages that would arise from such a discovery. The shortness of the voyage, compared

¹ See, for example, the interesting pamphlet, *A Narrative of the wicked Plots carried on by Seignior Gondamore, for Advancing the Popish Religion and Spanish Faction*, which was published in 1679 (though written some forty years before) as a useful piece of propaganda during the time of the "Popish Plot." (Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. III, p. 313.) In a highly imaginative description of Gondomar's speech before the Spanish Council reporting his intrigues in England, the Ambassador is made to say—"The last service I did in the State was not the least when I underwrought that admirable Engine, *Raleigh*, and was the Cause of his Voyage [to Guiana in 1617] was overthrown, and himselfe returning in Disgrace...because I would bring to an ignominious Death that old Pirate, who is one of the last now living, bred under that deceased *English Virago* and, by her, fleshed in our Ruin..." (p. 321).

with the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan routes, would enable the English to sell all manner of merchandise far cheaper than either the Spaniard or the Portuguese, and would indeed bring them to markets unattainable by their rivals. Thereby English ships and mariners would be increased without expense to the state, and, production being stimulated, employment would be provided for "loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons." "Also we might inhabite some part of those countryes, and settle there such neddy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallows." A scheme which promised to solve at a stroke the economic problems at home and to raise England to the front rank of maritime powers captured Raleigh's imagination. Undeterred by the failure of Frobisher, he gave active assistance to Gilbert in his abortive enterprise of 1578¹, and for the fatal expedition of 1583 equipped *The Ark Raleigh* at a cost of £2000. Within six months of the arrival of news that Sir Humphrey was dead, Raleigh joined with Adrian Gilbert and John Davis in obtaining a new charter, which incorporated the adventurers by the style of "The College of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-West Passage."

¶ At this juncture, Raleigh changed the emphasis in his scheme of overseas expansion, and by so doing laid the foundations of a British Empire in North America. Whereas the Gilberts and their other associates held that the function of an American colony would be to act as a staple or entrepôt between England and Asia, Raleigh began to regard the means as an end in itself. After 1583 the riches of Xanadu fade from his mind. A flourishing settlement was well worth while for its own sake: it would absorb surplus population, reduce unemployment, and stimulate trade. In 1584 he obtained his charter to discover, settle, and govern any lands not already in the possession of a Christian prince. The outcome was the famous series of attempts to found the colony of Virginia. The bleak coast-line of Newfoundland was abandoned for warmer and more fruitful latitudes. The prospecting voyage of Amidas and Barlow was followed up (1585) by the despatch of a company of settlers under Ralph Lane. Thriftlessness and indiscipline reduced these pioneers to such straits, that when Drake appeared, they clamoured to be taken home, and sailed away only a fortnight before Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three supply ships. Undaunted, Raleigh in 1587 sent out "one

¹ The fact that Gilbert, acquainted as he was with Arctic conditions, did not sail until November seems to indicate that he intended to go south, and not to Newfoundland as has been usually supposed.

hundred and fifty householders" under John White, who on arrival found that the fifteen men left by Grenville had been massacred by the Indians. In the end this third colony achieved no better success than its predecessors. The slander that Raleigh lost interest and abandoned them to their fate has long been disproved. In 1588, despite the Armada crisis, he obtained a special licence, and sent off three shiploads of food and equipment to their aid. It was not his fault that the crews incontinently turned pirate. Until his imprisonment in 1603 four more expeditions were sent at his own cost to search for the lost settlers. His own efforts therefore failed, but under the Virginia Company his scheme was eventually brought to fruition. His persistent conviction that he would "Yet live to see it an English Nation" marked a new departure in English overseas adventure.

¶ In the meantime, however, his swift mind had seized upon a new means of encompassing his ambitious end. Just as he had abandoned the idea of an Asiatic trade-dépôt in the North-West for a colonial empire in more temperate zones, so in turn he developed the notion of creating an empire by conquest in the tropics of South America which should rival, and perhaps absorb, Peru and Mexico. To what extent he believed in the legend of El Dorado in Guiana, and the implications of his famous voyage thither in 1595, will be treated more fully at a later stage in this Introduction. As will be indicated, the idea was never entirely absent from his mind for the rest of his life.

¶ Its influence upon the Puritan business man and statesman was profound. One of the prime causes of hatred for the dynasty which had been overthrown was its neglect of commercial interests overseas, a neglect that was neither forgiven nor forgotten. As soon as the philo-Spanish régime of the Stuarts was at an end, there was, therefore, a sharp reaction in favour of the expansionist policy of the Elizabethans. At the head of that movement stood Oliver Cromwell. He it was who at long last exacted retribution for the massacre of Amboyna and who tried to develop a coherent empire. In matters of national policy the outlook of the Elizabethan and the Cromwellian was essentially the same. Religion, politics and commerce were in both cases subtly interwoven. The average Elizabethan hated the most Catholic King for the abominable cruelty of the Inquisition, for his championship of a catholic and despotic régime under Mary, Queen of Scots, and also for the fact that Spain barred the gates to the golden Indies. If anything, this last consideration was the preponderant one. The same analysis may be applied to Cromwell. After carefully weighing the pro's and con's of a Spanish or a French

alliance, he chose the latter because he was determined to re-establish the fallen prestige of England by ousting a power which had been allowed to perpetrate a series of wanton assaults unpunished. That Spain happened to be the bulwark of the Papacy was an added reason; but a secondary one. He proved himself as quick to turn upon the Protestant Dutch, or to send his Ironsides to fight for the Catholic Cardinal Mazarin when the interests of England demanded it. So much shows the similarity of Cromwell's outlook with that of the age of Raleigh: one of the plans which he adopted to encompass his end proves him to have been the disciple of Raleigh himself.

¶ Inspired by the example of a daring raid upon the Spanish Main in 1642-45, Colonel Thomas Modiford submitted (1654) a memorandum to the Protector, wherein he outlined a scheme for the conquest of Spanish America. Using the British West Indies as a base, a reasonably strong armament could capture Cuba and thus intercept the Plate Fleets. Thence Cartagena, the key to the Main, could easily be mastered (so defenceless and degenerate were the Spaniards), and Venezuela and Peru would be at the invaders' mercy¹. A similar plan was tendered by Thomas Gage, the renegade priest and adventurer. Cromwell and his Council were so impressed that in the following year they launched a great offensive against the Spanish Empire in the form of the expedition under Admiral Penn and General Venables². The disastrous result of that adventure is well known³. Badly equipped and misled by exaggerated information, their sole achievement was the capture of Jamaica. The glittering dream of English supremacy from the Atlantic to the Pacific vanished, like Raleigh's El Dorado, into thin air. The anxiety of Raleigh and Cromwell alike to crush the commercial and colonial strength of Spain had led them into adopting a wrong line of approach. The cause of English maritime expansion was not to be served by establishing English viceroys in Manoa any more than in Cuzco and Lima. Nevertheless the Elizabethan pioneer and the Puritan statesman, who inherited his ideas, had their eyes upon the same goal. The foreign and imperial policy of Cromwell is but Chapter Two of the volume whose opening sentences had been penned by Raleigh.

¹ Cf. my edition of *The Voyages of Capt. William Jackson, 1642-5* (Camden Miscellany, Vol. xiii).

² The fact that Modiford's scheme was directly instrumental in inducing Cromwell to make the attempt in 1655 is amply shown by the Instructions to Venables, which follow the scheme step by step. In one particular Modiford's own words are copied. (See *Voyages of Capt. Jackson (ut supra)*, p. xxi.)

³ See *The Narrative of General Venables*, ed. Sir Charles Firth (Royal Hist. Soc. 1900).

¶ Sir Walter's title to fame is therefore not as a man of action, but as a man of ideas. As a practical sailor, he was laughed at by his contemporaries: as an exponent of naval policy in an age of famous admirals, he was incomparable. In his personal career he suffered a series of disasters, but he was one of the greatest philosophers of the sixteenth century. The efforts to trade with China by way of the north-west were failures; the attempts to establish Virginia never succeeded in his lifetime; and the endeavour to find the golden city of Manoa and to found an English Empire of Guiana was in the end a tragedy. But his prophetic imagination called up a vision of England overseas which was translated by his successors into glorious reality.

§ ii. EL DORADO AND THE WAY THITHER

THE elusive grandeur of the legend of El Dorado, the lost Empire of the Incas, holds the mind like the tales of lost Atlantis, or the fabled kingdom of Prester John. Such tales, whether mythical or built on solid fact, have driven men in all ages through jungles and over mountain ranges in quest of an unknown. The motive has on occasion been a desire to spread the light of religion; more often it has been a mixture of insatiable curiosity and avarice. But in almost every case the result has been a valuable addition to geographical knowledge. The long roll of those who sought for El Dorado contains the names of some of the most dauntless heroes and the most bloodthirsty ruffians in history. The story is an Odyssey, full of amazing and yet authentic adventures.

¶ When the Spaniards had completed the conquest of Mexico and Peru and stripped them of their riches, the natural sequel was to seek for further opportunities of plunder among the vast plains and impenetrable forests of Central America. To men acquainted with the enormous wealth of the Incas, it seemed an obvious inference that similar civilisations must exist to the east of the Andes. The fortunate discoverer would become as famous and as powerful as Cortez or Pizarro. In this supposition they were encouraged by native rumours, which told of great cities abounding in articles of gold and other riches somewhere in the central plains. Moreover other legends, which held that the civilised Incas and Chibchas had come originally from the interior of the continent, seemed to confirm the theory. An ancient tradition held that Bochica, child of the Sun and high-priest of Iraca (Sogamozo), had come up to the highlands of Bogota¹ from the east. And it is noteworthy that George of Spiers² in the savannahs of San Juan de los Llanos, actually came upon a "Temple of the Sun" and a convent of virgins, similar to those of Peru and New Granada. Undoubtedly there were many striking resemblances between the religious and social customs of the two regions east and west of the Andes. But whether the central plains were in fact the original home of Peruvian sun-worship and civilisation, or whether the savage tribes of the plains merely acquired such customs through commercial intercourse, it is impossible to say.

¹ Humboldt, *Personal Narrative* (1853 edn), Vol. III, p. 44. Humboldt's suggestion that the legend may have been merely an astrological allegory may be the true solution, though the evidence seems to point the other way.

² See account below, p. xlix.

¶ At the same time the Spaniards developed a different explanation to account for the existence of these supposed cities in the interior, which was widely believed, and may have been founded on fact. It was known that a large body of Inca Indians had fled from their conquerors with Tupac-Amaru into the south-eastern forests; and it was accordingly said that they had founded a great empire, the capital of which was named Paytiti (Tiger-Father)¹. Modern exploration has shown that there are no traces to indicate that such an empire ever existed. But that the Inca fugitives intermingled with the primitive tribes whom they encountered and that they transmitted to them certain features of their former civilisation, seems very possible². Spanish adventurers in this region frequently came into contact with tribes of a higher development than the usual South American Indian, and later reports are even more precise. In 1681 Father Lucero reported that he had seen a number of gold plates, half-moons and ear-rings belonging to a nation called Curiveos, whose king was a descendant of the Incas. Again in 1702 a missionary named Father Baraza visited the Baures Indians by the River Itenez. Each of their villages was elaborately fortified and had a large banqueting hall and temple in the centre; they were governed by hereditary rulers named Aramas and their women were clothed. Even more striking was the case of a neighbouring tribe, called Cayubabas whose organisation was the same, except that the civil ruler was also high-priest and bore the title of Paytiti. In this connection the authority of Sir Clements Markham, one of the few modern explorers who has travelled these regions, is worth quoting: "The testimony of Baraza and Lucero, added to the voice of universal tradition from the time of the conquest to the present day, unite to strengthen the probability that the Incas actually did succeed in prolonging their civilisation, apart from Spanish contamination, in the vast plains to the eastward of the Andes, for one or two centuries after the time of Pizarro. The same story was told to me, when I was on the shores of the Purus in 1853, and my informant pointed to the forests which

¹ Tupac-Amaru, youngest son of Manco-Inca, the acknowledged successor of Atahualpa, fled into the forests of Vilcabamba, whence he was brought back and beheaded by the Spaniards. As von Humboldt remarks, the idea that the flight of Inca princes to the east of the Cordilleras was proof that they founded El Dorado was erroneous, because Caxamarca and Cuzco, whence they set out, are 400 leagues south-west of the supposed site of Manoa and Lake Parima (*op. cit.* p. 63). But it must be remembered that the legend of an Inca empire *east of Cuzco* was well established before El Dorado was heard of.

² Sir Clements Markham (*Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, Hakluyt Society, 1859, Introd. p. v) notes that Velasco in his *Historia de Quito* enumerates eight powerful Amazonian tribes as being descended from the Incas.

stretched away to the horizon, at the same time describing a lake, on the banks of which Ynti (the Peruvian deity) still found adorers. It is a pleasant reflection that this story may possibly be true¹."

¶ Such rumours, though as yet lacking the support added by subsequent travellers, were quite sufficient to give rise to a number of daring expeditions several years before the actual legend of El Dorado had gained currency among the Spaniards. Indeed the search for a lost empire became divided into three branches. Explorers from Cuzco looked for the great cities of Paytiti and Enim in the basin of the upper Amazon; from Quito and Northern Peru the riches of the Omaguas were sought between the Napo and the Uapes rivers; and explorers from the northern colonies of Bogota and Venezuela searched the Orinoco and its tributaries for "El Dorado," the gilded man. The first journey of what may be termed the pre-El Dorado phase was that of a German named Ambrosio de Alfinger. The Velsers, a merchant company of Augsburg, having obtained a patent from the Emperor Charles V, sent out a colonising expedition under Alfinger which sailed from Spain in 1528. Eventually arriving at Coro on the north coast of Venezuela, Alfinger soon tired of the hum-drum life of a settler and determined to seek for a fabled city of gold in the interior. He accordingly set out from Coro in 1530 with two hundred Spaniards, several hundred Indian attendants and an ample supply of stores. The career of this adventurer, like that of many of his successors, was one of ferocious cruelty, the track of his journey being marked by murder and devastation. The story has been frequently told how his men tied the Indian attendants to a long chain by metal rings round their necks, and that when any one of them became too exhausted to go on, they released the body by striking off his head, in order to avoid the trouble of undoing the chain. Travelling in a south-westerly direction, they came at last to the junction of the River Cesar with the great River Magdalena. As a result of the terror which their barbarities had inspired, the Indians of the district surrendered gold and precious stones to the value of 60,000 dollars. This booty Alfinger sent back to Coro in charge of twenty-five of his soldiers wherewith to buy horses and supplies. But these men, having reached civilisation, gave no further thought to their companions in the wilderness. For nearly a year he awaited their return in vain. Abandoning hope of assistance, the adventurers began to follow the Rio Magdalena southward, until fever and torment of the mosquitoes drove them to the cold regions of the Cachiri Mountains. There they lived on the verge of starvation and great numbers were frozen to death.

¹ *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons* (Hakluyt Society, 1859), Introd. p. xlv.

Now thoroughly desperate, they descended into the Chinacota valley, slaying and plundering as they went. The Indian tribes whom they encountered replied with constant onslaughts, which, together with disease, inflicted terrible losses. Alfinger himself was killed, and finally a few worn-out stragglers made their way back to Coro in 1532. Such is the terrible story of the first expedition in search of a golden city¹.

¶ Meantime a much greater enterprise was being conducted from the east. In 1531 Diego de Ordaz, the famous Conquistador of Mexico, set forth from the mouth of the Amazon to discover new realms for conquest. On suffering shipwreck he was obliged to retreat to Paria, a Spanish post near the mouth of the Orinoco, and accordingly resolved to enter the interior by way of that river instead. After resting for awhile at the village of Carao near the confluence of the Caroni (the farthest point reached by Raleigh), he proceeded slowly and with great toil up-stream to the mouth of the Meta, which his Indian guides advised him to explore. For, said they, to the west were great nations who were clothed and possessed gold in abundance, and rode upon animals "smaller than stags"—that is to say, llamas. Ordaz was, in fact, hearing news of the civilised peoples of New Granada, who were as yet unknown to the Spaniards. He elected, however, to continue his exploration of the Orinoco, which he did until the great cataract of Atures compelled him to turn back. Ordaz had thus explored more than a thousand miles of a great and unknown river, and in so doing paved the way for the subsequent journeys in search of El Dorado. The good work of Ordaz was continued in 1533 by his treasurer Alonso de Herrera at the instance of the Governor Geronimo de Ortal. After over a year's delay, which was spent below the Caroni in building special light-draft boats, he followed the course of his predecessor as far as the mouth of the Meta. Here stories of the wealth of New Granada, similar to those which Ordaz had heard, induced him to leave the Orinoco and explore its tributary. After encountering tribes of a definitely higher stage of development than the savages of the main river, Herrera was killed by a poisoned arrow and the expedition was led back to Paria by his lieutenant Alvaro de Ordaz (1535). These two journeys were the prelude to the conquest of New Granada and the acquisition of the enormous wealth of the Chibchas by the great Adelantado Don Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, who, coming from the Rio Magdalena, reached the heights of Bogota in 1537.

¹ A vivid account of this expedition is given by Juan de Castellanos, *Elegias de Illustres Varones de Indias* (Madrid, 1847), Parte 1, Elegia 1, Canto 4.

¶ Within a year of the return of Herrera's company, another venture was on foot which extended the search for an undiscovered empire further south towards the Rio Papamene or Caqueta. A German knight named George of Spiers (von Speier), having obtained the government of Venezuela, set out from Coro with three hundred foot soldiers and one hundred cavalry, and by his daring and persistence accomplished a journey through regions which have remained imperfectly known to this day. Crossing the mountains of Merida, he descended into the plains which lie between the Apure and the Meta. The mountains of Guiana to the east of the Orinoco were avoided owing to the impossibility of penetrating them with horses and baggage, and the expedition worked its way in a south-westerly direction across the Ariari and so into the savannahs of San Juan de los Llanos. On their way they suffered great misery from fever and the mosquitoes in the low-lying land, and during the rainy seasons from lack of food, being then compelled to exist on roots. Constant attacks were made upon them by fierce Indian tribes, among whom were the Uaupes, who painted themselves black and fortified their courage before battle by becoming half intoxicated. At the large village of La Fragua (*Pueblo de Nuestra Señora*) George of Spiers gave his worn-out companions a long rest. It was here that they found the Temple of the Sun, a discovery which inflamed the ardour of many subsequent adventurers. After reaching the upper waters of the Papamene, the wanderers met with such stubborn resistance in the province of Los Choques that they were compelled to turn back and begin their long return journey to Coro, which was reached after many hardships. Thus in three years of almost continuous travel George of Spiers and his followers had traversed over one thousand five hundred miles of unknown country¹. Henceforward the region between the Meta and the Papamene, which they had explored, became the favourite hunting-ground for both El Dorado and the golden realm of the Omaguas.

¶ At the same time George's lieutenant, another German knight named Nicholas Federmann, who had been disappointed in not receiving the chief command himself, had been following up the track of his chief with stores and reinforcements. After a while, however, he determined to avoid a meeting and to try his fortune in an independent search.

¹ According to most Spanish authorities, George of Spiers died peacefully as Governor of Venezuela in 1540, but the statement may be merely presumptive. Girolamo Benzoni (*History of the New World*, Hakluyt Society translation, 1857, p. 76) states that he was murdered and his body mutilated by the Spaniards.

During the rainy season he remained near the Cacanare, and then spent three years in wandering about the plains. In 1539 he crossed the Cordillera de la Suma Paz, and met the conquistadors Quesada and Belalcazar (who from Quito had reduced Popayan in 1535) on the uplands of Bogota. The three then joined forces and proceeded down the Magdalena to Sta Martha. Still another expedition in search of an Inca empire was undertaken during these eventful years of 1535-8, that of Geronimo de Ortal. This Governor, having sent Herrera to continue the discoveries of Ordaz, set out in 1536 on his own account from the Rio Neveri, and explored the basin of the Meta in the hope of finding a Temple of the Sun.

¶ Up to this point, the search, though conducted with a reckless enthusiasm which surmounted the most appalling difficulties, had been vague in aim and direction. Had nothing further transpired, the idea of another Peru in the central plains or in the Guiana uplands would probably have died a natural death. But at this juncture another story came to the fore, which by the grandeur of its apparently convincing details entranced the imagination of the Spaniards and created the most astounding will-o'-the-wisp in history. From this time until the end of the eighteenth century men suffered and died (and in their sum total they numbered many thousands) in a firm belief in its existence. The legend of "the gilded man," though long current among the Indians, seems to have first come to the ears of the Spaniards in 1535, when Luis Daza and others in the town of Tacunga in the kingdom of Quito encountered an Indian, who had been sent by the Zipa of Bogota in New Granada to seek help from Atahualpa. This emissary, told the hearers of a priest-king away to the east, "who, his body covered with powdered gold, went into a lake amid the mountains." The legend was historically true and referred to a religious rite practised at the sacred lake of Guatavita in the uplands of Bogota, but which had ceased upon the conquest of Guatavita by Nemequene (*circa* 1480). "When the chief of Guatavita was independent," writes Colonel Acosta, "he made a solemn sacrifice every year, which, for its singularity, contributed to give celebrity to the lake of Guatavita in the most distant countries, and which was the origin of the belief in El Dorado, in search of which so many years and so much wealth was employed. On the day appointed the chief smeared his body with turpentine, and then rolled in gold dust. Thus gilded and resplendent, he entered the canoe, surrounded by his nobles, whilst an immense multitude of people, with music and songs, crowded round the shores of the lake. Having reached the centre, the chief deposited his offerings of gold,

emeralds and other precious things, and then jumped in himself to bathe. At this moment the surrounding hill echoed with the applause of the people; and, when the religious ceremony concluded, the dancing, singing and drinking began¹." Thus the origin of the legend seems clear. What is not so evident is the reason why many Spaniards from 1535 onwards persistently sought *el hombre dorado*, the gilded man, to the east of the Andes instead of on the plateau of Bogota, his real home. Two possible solutions present themselves. In the first place the ceremony may actually have originated as far to the eastward and been brought by Bochica with the other rites of sun-worship up to Bogota. As Humboldt points out, such a custom would seem to have been instituted in a hot country. And furthermore Daza's informant had indicated a region to the east of Quito, not to the north-north-east. If this be true, then El Dorado and the glittering city which became quickly associated with him, actually did exist in a distant age somewhere in Guiana. In fact we are brought back to the first problem as to the original locality of Peruvian and Chibcha civilisation. The second alternative seems the more feasible. More than forty years had elapsed between the cessation of the ablutionary rite and the first appearance of the Spaniards. During that period tradition had confused this with other memories, and Indian captives, when pressed by Spaniards who were obsessed with the idea of an eastern empire of the Incas, tried to placate their masters by telling them the sort of stories which they wished to hear. Indeed Presbyter Suarez, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ecuador*, states that this was what actually took place. "When the Spaniards failed to find the treasure which they had expected in Quito, they began to torture and persecute the Indians to force them to reveal it. And these, to escape torment, invented all manner of stories of El Dorado." Thus the legend of a gilded king became superimposed upon that of a golden city, and early supposition grew to conviction that away to the

¹ *Descubrimiento de la Nueva Granada*, por el Coronel J. Acosta, p. 199 (quoted by Sir Clements Markham, Hakluyt Society, 1861, Introd. p. ii). With regard to the lake of Guatavita, von Humboldt remarks—"I saw on its banks the remains of a staircase hewn in the rock, and serving for the ceremonies of ablution. The Indians said that powder of gold and golden vessels were thrown into this lake, as a sacrifice to the *adoratorio de Guatavita*. Vestiges are still found of a breach, which was made by the Spaniards for the purpose of draining the lake" (*Personal Narrative*, Vol. III, p. 45). The ceremony was evidently a solemn act of expiation for the sins of the people and was analogous to the September festival of the Incas of Peru, called Situa, "the object of which was to banish from the capital (Cuzco) and its vicinity all disease and trouble" (Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part VI, p. 128). Frazer also remarks (*ibid.* pp. 3-4), "the Indians of Peru sought to purify themselves by plunging their heads into a river; they said that the river washed their sins away."

east was a lake hidden among mountains and ruled by a priest-king, the splendour of which was beyond all human imagining.

¶ It has been frequently remarked that Manoa (for so the fabled city came to be called¹) was moved steadily eastward until it came to its last resting place on the shores of the supposed lake Parima, the existence of which was finally disproved by von Humboldt at the beginning of the nineteenth century. That the site of the mythical city was bound to move gradually towards the heights of Guiana becomes clear when it is remembered that the essential concomitant of the city and its lake were surrounding mountains. The early explorers after 1535 searched the central plains for this cordillera, and when Antonio de Berrio in 1590 at last discovered the Sierra Parima across the upper Orinoco, he exclaimed with delight that he had come upon the mountains which twenty-seven previous adventurers had failed to find. Later information having convinced him that the proper entrance lay to the south of the lower reaches of the Orinoco, he handed that theory on to Raleigh in 1595, who published it to the world. The final stage was reached in the following year when Raleigh's lieutenant, Laurence Keymis, identified the mysterious lake with the Laguna Rupununi above the Rio Essequibo and the Rio Branco. Two other regions far to the south-west also became famous as the seat of wealthy empires, the area between the Papamene or Caqueta and the Uaupes which von Humboldt has called *El Dorado of the Omaguas*, and a still more southerly district about the upper tributaries of the Amazon, which may be named *El Dorado of Paytiti*. But these were not so much based on the gilded man story as on the supposition of an empire founded by fugitive Incas, which happened to be strengthened by local discoveries of gold ornaments and semi-civilised tribes.

¶ In 1536 the era of great journeys in search of El Dorado was preceded by two preliminary explorations. In 1536 Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda set out from Quito to find the gilded man in the plains beyond the province of Quijos and in so doing discovered the land of the cinnamon trees. Two years later Alonso Mercadillo relieved Peru of the presence of many turbulent spirits by conducting a party to conquer the Chupachos and Iscaicinga (two nosed) Indians² and to find the marvels of El Dorado in the basin of the Huallaga River. Considerable exploration was carried

¹ See below, p. lxxii.

² "It was said that the Indians who lived there were big men, and that they had their noses torn between the nostrils, and because of that they were called Iscaicinga which means 'two noses'" (Pedro de Cieza de Leon, *Cronica del Peru*, Part iv, lib. i, cap. 79, Hakluyt Society translation, 1923, p. 286).

out in this region, and the province of Maynas was discovered. But when Mercadillo announced his intention of prosecuting the search for the Iscaingas in defiance of the guides' advice, his men mutinied and deposed him. Subsequently one of the detachments under Diego Nunnes descended the Amazon as far as Machiparo. Uncertain though its aim had been, this expedition had traversed wild regions which were considered impassable and was the forerunner of many searches for El Dorado of Paytiti among the upper tributaries of the Marañon or Amazon¹.

¶ As a result of Pineda's discovery of Canelos, the cinnamon land, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in 1539 "determined to send his brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, that he might conquer such another land as the Marquis himself had found, and become governor of it²." Gonzalo himself was evidently fascinated by the idea that in this region lay the kingdom of El Dorado. Oviedo tells that "he sought at the same time a great prince, noised in those countries, who was always covered with powdered gold, so that from head to foot he resembled an image of gold fashioned by the hand of a skilful workman. The powdered gold is fixed on the body by means of an odoriferous resin; but, as this garment would be uneasy to him while he slept, the prince washes himself every evening and is gilded anew in the morning, which proves that the empire of El Dorado is infinitely rich in mines³."

¶ So on Christmas Day, 1539, began the first of what may be termed the giant expeditions. Marching from Cuzco to Quito, Gonzalo crossed the snowy Cordillera with three hundred and forty Spaniards and four thousand Indian attendants. Gonzalo was a valiant soldier, but also a savage given to ferocious cruelty. When the Indians of Sumaco failed to give him the answers which he desired respecting the country to the east, he ordered them to be tortured, burning some alive and causing others to be torn to pieces by his dogs. The natural result was that the terror-stricken Cacique of Coca, whom they next encountered, volubly confirmed all the Spaniards' preconceived delusions. Thus their barbarities brought upon them a peculiarly just retribution.

¶ After resting for two months, they marched for fifty leagues along the banks of the broad Coca River looking for a place by which to cross. At last they came to a wonderful chasm, not more than twenty feet from bank to bank, where the river plunged down a sheer wall of rock two

¹ About the same time Alonso de Alvarado discovered the land of the Motilones to the west of the Huallaga (Cieza de Leon, *ut supra*, cap. 92).

² Garcilasso Inca de la Vega, *Commentarios Reales del Piru*, Parte II, lib. iii, cap. 1.

³ Quoted by Humboldt (*ut supra*, Vol. III, pp. 45-6).

hundred feet deep. Here they bethought them of building a bridge. "And it must be considered what an undertaking it was to place the first beam across a chasm at such a height above the water, that even to look down was an act of rashness." Indeed one Spaniard did so and fell headlong into the foaming torrent below. The bridge however was constructed, and the men and horses passed safely over. The journey down the course of the river was continued through such dense forests that it was necessary in many places to cut a road with hatchets. As they proceeded their miseries increased. The land was so poor and sterile that they were compelled to satisfy their hunger with roots and herbs, and the presence of numberless lagoons and steaming swamps set up fever which made fearful havoc. The dauntless courage of the wanderers under such conditions is amazing. When the scouting parties, which Gonzalo now sent out in all directions to find an open road, all came back with the same tale of dense forests and impassable swamps, they determined there and then to build a brigantine. Charcoal was prepared in spite of the torrential rains, and a forge was set up where nails were made from the shoes of horses which had been killed as food for the sick. "Gonzalo Pizarro, as became so valiant a soldier," Garcilasso relates, "was the first to cut the wood, forge the iron, burn the charcoal, and employ himself in any other office, so as to give an example to the rest, that no one might have any excuse for not doing the same. For tar for the brigantine, they used resin from the trees; for oakum, they had blankets and old shirts; and all were ready to give up their clothes, because they believed that the remedy for all their misfortunes would be the brigantine. They then completed and launched her, believing that on that day all their troubles would come to an end."

¶ Having loaded up the brigantine with their belongings and with those who were too ill to travel by land, they began the descent of the river, slowly cutting their way through the forests along the bank, while those on board found great difficulty in resisting the current so as not to get ahead of their comrades. For two months they journeyed in this way, until some Indians gave them the glad tidings that about ten days' journey lower down, where the Coca joined the Napo, they would come upon an inhabited land, "well supplied with provisions and rich in gold, and in all other things which they wanted¹." Delighted at the news, Pizarro

¹ Garcilasso (*op. cit.*), Parte II, lib. iii, cap. 3 (Hakluyt Society edition, 1859, p. 10). Articles of gold were constantly met with among the Indian tribes by these early explorers—a fact which naturally deepened their conviction of the existence of El Dorado. The presence of the precious metals may have been partly due to commercial intercourse

sent his lieutenant, Don Francisco de Orellana, with fifty soldiers in the brigantine to find the confluence of the two rivers and to return with the provisions which were so desperately needed. In so doing he committed the mistake which Alfinger had made, and with results almost as disastrous.

¶ Finding that no supplies were to be had in the region indicated and that the return journey up-stream would involve excessive toil, Orellana determined to leave Pizarro and his companions to their fate and to proceed down the river on his own account. When the crew became suspicious and protested against his dastardly conduct, the ringleader Hernan Sanchez de Vargas was set ashore and left to an almost certain death in the jungle. The subsequent voyage down the unknown Amazon, though far less toilsome than the previous travels by land, was a sufficiently marvellous achievement. After a journey of about five hundred leagues, during which the natives supplied them with ample provisions, they came upon a chief named Aparia, who gave them such a cordial reception that Orellana decided to remain with him until another brigantine could be built. This done, they set off once more on 4 April 1541, engaging in frequent running fights with fleets of Indian canoes and occasionally finding tribes possessed of gold and silver. At the mouth of the river Trombetas occurred the famous battle with the so-called Amazons, after whom Orellana named the great river which he had discovered¹. After

with the wealthy nations west of the Andes. As von Humboldt points out, "It may be conceived that the gold of the Cordilleras might be conveyed from hand to hand, through an infinite number of tribes, as far as to the shore of Guiana; since, long before the fur trade had attracted English, Russian and American vessels to the north-west coast of America, iron tools had been carried from New Mexico and Canada beyond the Rocky Mountains" (*ut supra*, p. 63). It may also have been partly or entirely due to the undoubted existence of auriferous soils between the Caqueta and the Santiago (tributaries of the Upper Amazon) and also about the upper reaches of Caroni, the Cuyuni and the Essequibo in eastern Guiana. The quantity of the gold, was of course, grossly exaggerated, but the fact that Indians were found wearing gold ornaments there contributed to the fixing of El Dorado in each of these regions.

¹ This story of an encounter with female warriors had only to be repeated to gain extensive credence owing to its analogy to the ancient fable. Orellana's story clearly arose from a mistake. As Herrera (*Hist. Gen. de Indias Occid.* decad. vi, lib. ix, cap. 3) remarks, "some of the Spaniards were of the opinion that Captain Orellana should not have given the name of Amazons to these women who fought, because in the Indies it was no new thing for the women to fight, and to use bows and arrows, as has been seen in some islands of Barlovento, and at Carthagena, where they displayed as much courage as the men." The Tapuyas, in contrast to the Caribs, allowed their women to fight by their side (cf. Colonel G. E. Church, *Aborigines of South America*, London, 1912, pp. 64-5). And in 1844 Sir Robert Schomburgk thoroughly explored the region of the Rio Trombetas and found no trace of any such Amazonian tribe (Raleigh's *Guiana*, Hakluyt

many weeks of suffering, the Spaniards suddenly discovered with delight that the level of the river was being affected by tides. Hastening on, they came at last within sight of the sea, where they made ropes and rigging from grass, and sails from the blankets in which they slept. So on 26 August they put to sea, "without either pilot, compass or anything useful for navigation," and after a perilous voyage arrived at Cubagua, where they were well received. Orellana himself proceeded to Spain where he described his first great journey from the Andes to the Atlantic, and obtained a royal commission to conquer and govern the provinces which he had discovered. He died at sea while on his way back to South America at the head of 500 soldiers.

¶ Meanwhile Gonzalo Pizarro and his men, who had been so basely deserted, were in great distress. While the main body struggled wearily along the banks of the Coca, Mercadillo and then Diaz de Pineda went ahead in search of Orellana. When the expedition reached the Napo they found, instead of the expected brigantine, Hernan Sanchez de Vargas who told them of the desertion. The return journey to Quito is a story of almost incredible suffering. Through jungle, where a path had to be literally carved out, and through lagoons, morasses and marshes they struggled, the sick being carried on the backs of their comrades. So terrible was their hunger that they consumed those who died. The damp heat rotted their clothes so that they became naked; and then "the thorns and matted underwood of those thick forests...cruelly tore them, and made them look as if they had been flayed." When Pizarro and eighty survivors at last staggered into Quito with their faces burnt black with the sun, matted locks hanging down to their shoulders and their bodies wasted with famine, "it seemed as if a charnel-house had given up its dead."

¶ While El Dorado was thus being sought far to the south along the auriferous banks of the Napo, other adventurers were conducting the search in more northerly regions east of the Andes of New Granada.

Society, 1848, Introd. pp. lx-lxi). Yet these points do not explain why Columbus found the legend already established with regard to Montserrat, nor why it still existed among the Macusi Indians of Guiana in the middle of the nineteenth century. Modern archaeology has proved the existence of an element of historical truth in so many tales of ancient folk-lore, that it is impossible to dismiss this persistent native legend of American Amazons as entirely fabulous. What precisely was the germ of truth out of which the story grew it is impossible to say. But in view of this uncertainty and of the fact that it was almost universally accepted in the late sixteenth century, it is manifestly unfair to ridicule the credulity of Raleigh because he repeated the story for what it was worth (cf. below, pp. 26-7).

These latter attempts were responsible for the appearance of two other separate sites for the golden city—El Dorado of the Omaguas in the central plains between the Papamene and the Guaviare, and eventually El Dorado of Parima in the north-east of Guiana. Expeditions sought for the empire of Paytiti in the south until well into the eighteenth century, but the fame of the Omaguas declined when the long-desired Sierra of Guiana were discovered by Berrio and became from thenceforth the accepted site. The notion that the sacred lake and its accompanying wealth must lie in the mountainous region north-east of Bogota was put to the test in 1539 by Hernan Perez de Quesada, who had been left to govern Bogota upon the departure of his brother Don Gonzalo for Spain. Finding no treasure in that region, Hernan evidently came to the conclusion that the Indian stories of mountains to the east must refer to an unknown cordillera across the llanos. On 1 September 1541, he accordingly descended into the plains (probably from Tunja) with 270 Spaniards, almost as many horses, and 5000 Moxca Indians, and marched in a south-easterly direction as far as the forests of Mocoa and the upper reaches of the Papamene. Some twelve months later he was back in Bogota, having lost half his men amid terrible sufferings and without sight of any Temple of the Sun. The chief importance of Quesada's journeys lies in the fact that they constitute a link between the early explorations of Herrera and Ortal along the Meta and the subsequent travels of Berrio in the same region which led him to seek for Manoa down the Orinoco.

¶ In July of this same year (1541) another expedition set out, which by its startling adventures created a great sensation and established the fable of a dorado among the Omaguas. A German named Philip von Hutten (Felipe de Urre or Utre according to Spanish pronunciation), who had accompanied George of Spiers on his journey, set forth from Coro with a great force and followed the track of his old commander southward across the central plains to the village of La Fragua or Nuestra Señora, where George of Spiers had found the sun temple and the convent of virgins. Here they had news that Quesada had passed by a short time before, and as soon as the rainy season was over, Hutten was on the march again for the province of Papamene, determined to follow Quesada's path. For a year they wandered, being so hard pressed for food that at one period they were compelled to live on ants. It was then found that they had been marching in a circle and had come back to the point from which they had started. But Hutten and his Spanish followers were determined men, and despite their exhaustion and disappointment, refused

to give up. On first entering the Papamene province, an Indian had offered to guide them eastward to a land of great riches by the banks of the Guaviare, where there was a city called Macatoa. The people were clothed and had great store of gold and large herds of llamas. This story, which had been ignored at the time, was now recalled, and Hutten started in search thereof with his camp-master Pedro de Limpías and forty men. After a toilsome march they reached the Guaviare where they were supplied with ample provisions by the Uaupes Indians and conducted to Macatoa, which was found to have a population of about 800 people and to consist of streets of well-built houses and open squares. The stories which the Uaupes told of their rich but ferocious southern neighbours, the Omaguas, decided the dauntless Hutten to march thither without delay. After five days' journey the guides brought them to a village, from which the adventurers looked down upon a city, which, it was said, was so vast that they could not discern its limits. The houses were built along straight streets, and in the centre rose a lofty building, half palace for the priest-king, Quareca, and half temple where stood many idols of pure gold. Hutten and his little company charged down towards the city, but met with such stubborn resistance by a force of 15,000 strong (as it was said), which rapidly assembled at the sound of the alarm drums, that they were compelled to retire, Hutten himself having been seriously wounded. The Omaguas who had followed them up were at last beaten off by Pedro de Limpías, but any further advance was out of the question. The Guaviare was recrossed and the return journey begun. An unfortunate quarrel between Limpías and Bartolome Velser, the second in command, resulted in the desertion of the former, who, travelling more rapidly than the main body, was the first to arrive at Coro with the news of the exciting discovery.

¶ Allowing for possible exaggeration in detail, the account was probably true. The Omaguas constituted one of the terrible waves of invasion by the haughty Caraios or Caribs. Originating in the regions of Parana and Paraguay, they wrested the whole of the Brazilian littoral from the Tupuyas, and swept through the Amazon basin, while other hordes proceeding by the Cassaquiari Canal entered and subdued the provinces of the Orinoco and finally overran the Antilles. "They formed as it were," writes Colonel Church, "a religious caste which absorbed supreme power over the tribes, enslaving their thought and controlling their actions. By the time the Caraios had reached the valley of the Orinoco and the northern shores of South America and swarmed over the Antilles and the coast lands of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, they

had all become Caraïbes or Great Carai¹." The Omagua branch fought its way up the Amazon above the Rio Negro and occupied a region of several hundred miles along its banks. The Omaguas of today are a mixed breed and are a mere handful, but in the sixteenth century they were undoubtedly one of the strongest and most numerous nations north of the Amazon. Possibly their elementary civilisation was fostered by contact with Peru. The statement of their possessing herds of llamas would seem to support such an idea, and llamas had been seen by Orellana on the banks of the Amazon and heard of by Ordaz in the basin of the Meta. Gold they certainly had, either by trade with the Peruvians and Chibchas or from their own soil which (according to von Humboldt) is auriferous². It was from the Manoa Indians, who adjoin the Omaguas, that Father Fritz in the seventeenth century obtained plates of beaten gold.

¶ Indeed there seems to be little doubt that the fame of these semi-civilised Caraios was the basis upon which the legend of El Dorado of Guiana was eventually built. A race who came from no one knew where, which was irresistible in war, which possessed ornaments of gold, and was sufficiently developed to live in organised communities, inspired the more primitive tribes with awe. When Berrio, and Raleigh after him, travelled the Orinoco, and heard exaggerated tales of the prowess and splendour of these new-comers to Guiana, they easily jumped to the conclusion that here was the long-sought empire of the Incas; here among the Guianian mountains was the sacred lake and on its shores the glittering city of Manoa. Morequito, Topiawari and the other chiefs told the truth as they knew it, and any European of the sixteenth century who was conversant with the findings of previous explorers would have interpreted their reports in like manner.

¶ Seven years after von Hutten's enterprise, the search was taken up by Don Pedro de Ursua, who is perhaps the best known of all the Spanish conquistadors of El Dorado. This adventurous young knight of Navarre is said by those who knew him to have been a most attractive personality, a man of exceptional courage, generosity and honour. He seems, however, to have been also headstrong and lacking in the essential capacity of ruling turbulent subordinates. At his own urgent desire his uncle,

¹ Colonel G. E. Church, *The Aborigines of South America* (London, 1912), p. 35.

² *Personal Narrative*, Vol. III, pp. 67-8. Ursua when passing down the Papamene (Caqueta) to the Amazon was told of a province named *Caricuri*. Humboldt points out (*ut supra*, p. 50) that this clearly denotes "the country of gold," the word for that metal in the Tamanae tongue being *caricuri* and in the Caribbee *carucuru*, and—very suggestively—that the Peruvian word is *cori*, whence *corikoya* (gold ore).

Don Miguel Diaz de Armendariz, appointed him to lead an expedition in search of hidden riches in the north-eastern Cordillera, of which so much had been heard from the previous explorers. His universal popularity quickly gained him a following of four hundred men, with whom in 1548 he set out from Tunja. No dorado was found among the numerous Chitarero Indians, but a new city was founded which Ursua named after Pampluna in Navarre. Here he remained as Governor until he was commissioned to continue the search for El Dorado and to conquer the formidable nation of the Musos, who for many years made an heroic stand against the Spaniards. Accordingly in 1550 he penetrated into the Musos' territory with a force of one hundred and fifty men. But so stubborn was the resistance that Ursua was induced to stain his otherwise honourable reputation by an act of cold-blooded treachery. A number of Indian chiefs who had come into the Spanish camp under guarantee of a truce were seized and murdered. Another city named Tudela was founded and Ursua brought up reinforcements from Bogota, but the constant onslaughts of the Musos rendered the position untenable. Tudela was burnt to the ground and the Spaniards were compelled to retire temporarily from the country¹. In fact these operations of 1548 to 1551 constitute the last attempt to find El Dorado in the Cordillera north-east of Tunja. Henceforth the mountains which contain the great secret were sought up and down the central plains.

¶ Some years later an incident occurred which gave a new burst of vigour to the legend. An Indian chief of the Brazilian coast named Viraratu, decided to lead two thousand of his people up the Marañon (Amazon) in order to conquer and occupy a less crowded country. In their travelling they came upon a great lake, some distance from the river, and in the middle of a vast plain which was dotted about with populous villages and surrounded by high mountains. The invaders were driven off by the lake-folk and pursued back to the Amazon, which they then slowly ascended until they eventually reached the province of the Motilones in Peru by way of the Huallaga River. The story created such interest that Viraratu was sent to the Viceroy at Lima, the Marquis of Cañete, to whom he repeated his adventures. "These Indians," wrote Fray Pedro Simon, "brought news respecting the provinces of the Omaguas, mentioned also by Captain Francisco de Orellana, when he descended this River Marañon after deserting Gonzalo Pizarro in the cinnamon country. In these provinces, of which the Indians spoke when

¹ Fray Pedro Simon, *Segunda Parte, Sexta Noticia de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme* (Bogota, 1892), caps. xxviii-xxxvi.

they reached Peru, dwelt the gilded man—at least this name was spread about in the land, taking its origin in the city of Quito. It so excited the minds of those restless spirits with whom Peru was full, and who were ever ready to credit these rumours, that the Viceroy thought it prudent to seek some way by which to give employment to so large a body of turbulent men¹.” Considering that the Brazilian spoke by means of an interpreter, the viceroy probably received a garbled version of an already exaggerated story. But the circumstance of a great lake with a numerous population and surrounding mountains was quite sufficient evidence from which to adduce El Dorado, and to identify it with the Omaguas described by Orellana and von Hutten. Moreover, whether he himself believed the story or not, the Marquis of Cañete was glad enough, as Simon suggests, to use the opportunity of ridding Peru of some of the turbulent spirits who had just taken part in the rebellion of Hernandez Giron.

¶ The project was taken up with enthusiasm by Pedro de Ursua, who had recently returned to Peru after conducting a number of strenuous campaigns near Santa Martha and at Panama. While a recruiting campaign was being conducted in the neighbourhood of Lima, Ursua himself in 1559 took a party of shipbuilders to a little Spanish settlement among the Motilones Indians called Lamas, or Santa Cruz de Capacoba, situated on the banks of the Moyobamba, a tributary of the Huallaga, and set them on to build a fleet of brigantines. But no sooner had he returned to superintend the preparations at Lima, than disorders broke out, which culminated in the murder of Captain Pedro Ramiro, the officer in charge. The trouble was promptly suppressed by Ursua who returned and had the ringleaders beheaded, but other signs were not wanting that the absence of internal rebellion had driven some of the worst ruffians in Peru to enlist under Ursua’s banner. His friends in Lima became uneasy, warning him in particular against a certain Lope de Aguirre, and urging him on no account to carry out his intention of taking with him the young and beautiful widow Doña Inez de Atienza. Unfortunately for himself he was not to be moved in the matter.

¶ In July 1560 two reconnaissance parties were sent on ahead, one under Garcia del Arze (who inspired widespread terror by his atrocities) and a second under Juan de Vargas, which were to sail down to the mouth of the Ucayali in search of provisions, and to wait there for the arrival of the main force. In September Ursua himself set out, and having picked

¹ Simon, *Primera Parte, Sexta Noticia*, cap. I, p. 402 (Hakluyt Society translation, 1861, pp. 2-3).

up the two parties as arranged, proceeded down the Marañon, bartering with the natives for provisions as he went. Already, however, dark schemes were afoot which the leader's mercifulness or weakness served to encourage. When offenders were occasionally punished by being made to row in the brigantines and canoes, the plotters seized the opportunity of inflaming their resentment by saying that death was far better than such disgrace. Again, when they came to a desert region and began to suffer great misery from lack of food, "the whole blame was laid on the Governor for his improvidence." So unhappily, with treason brewing in their midst, they journeyed until they came to the plentiful village of Machiparo near the mouth of the Putumayu River, where they determined to spend Christmas and make enquiries respecting the land of the Omaguas. A scouting party under Pedro de Galeas was sent out which, after following a creek for a short distance, came to a great lake, "the size of which astonished them, for after they had sailed in it for two or three leagues, they entirely lost sight of land¹." But fearing that if they proceeded further they might lose the way back, they returned without having encountered any sign of inhabitants. Curiously enough, the Spaniards at Machiparo were already within the territory of the Omaguas. Orellana had visited the province of Machiparo, which he said was governed by a chief called Aomagua². In fact, without knowing it, Ursua had entered the southern border of these warlike people, while von Hutten had found their northern limit across the Guaviare.

¶ At this point the malcontents were given the opportunity of murdering their leader for which they had long been waiting. Having understood that a certain broad road from the village led into the interior to a great city or province, Ursua sent a picked party (and incidentally all his best friends) under Sancho Pizarro to make its discovery. A consultation was held on the morning of New Year's Day, and it was decided to perpetrate the murder that evening. The sequel is best told in the words of Fray Simon: "It was the second hour of the night, on the day of the circumcision, when the rebels left the lodging of Don Fernando with the diabolical intention of assailing the governor, and taking his life. They were eager in their steps (to take vengeance for the insults which they said they had received from him). Alonso de Montoya was the first in advance, with Christoval Hernandez de Chaves, and, entering Ursua's house,

¹ This was probably one of the many lakes through which the various branches of the Putumayu flow. It may have been one of these lakes which Viraratu and his Brazilians discovered, the account of which incited Ursua to embark upon his enterprise.

² He mistook the name of the tribe for that of the ruler.

they found him in his hammock talking to a little page named Lorca. When they saluted the governor he said, 'What seek ye here, caballeros, at this hour?' The reply was several stabs which missed him. He then rose from his hammock to reach his sword and buckler, which he had at hand, when the rest of the mutineers entered and made a murderous onset on Ursua, so that he soon fell dead, being able to say no more than 'Confessio, confessio miserere mei Deus.' The deed being done, they sallied out of the hut, and one of them with a loud voice, shouted, 'Liberty, Liberty! long live the king, the tyrant is dead.'" Hearing the hubbub, Juan de Vargas hurried up and was instantly stabbed to death.

¶ Thus ended in tragedy one more attempt to find El Dorado. Henceforward the expedition became an orgy of blood. The leader Lope de Aguirre, who had plotted Ursua's death, was a monster whose misdeeds have placed him in the front rank of human villainy. His ultimate intention was to return to Peru and overthrow the government. In the meantime, as they journeyed down the Marañon, he compelled the soldiers to renounce King Philip and to swear allegiance to Don Fernando de Guzman (who had been nominally appointed Ursua's successor) as Prince of Peru. All who refused were put to death. The slightest suspicion whispered to Aguirre by one of his intimates, and the unfortunate victim was strangled or stabbed in the back. The heroic lady Inez "who forsook not her lord in his travels unto death," was murdered by order of Aguirre because her mattress would take up too much room in the boat¹! Finally Guzman himself was got rid of and Aguirre was proclaimed commander of the expedition. Murder among themselves was accompanied by the practice of every sort of outrage and atrocity among the unfortunate Indians.

¶ Ghastly though the journey was, Aguirre and his Marañones, as he christened them, made important and extensive discoveries. In order to avoid the land of the Omaguas, which he thought was lower down the Amazon, and where he was afraid that his followers would wish to settle instead of attacking the Spanish colonies, Aguirre seems to have turned up the Rio Negro and to have proceeded by way of the Cassaquari Canal

¹ Castellanos (*Elegias de Ilustres Varones de Indias*, Parte 1, Elegia xiv, Canto 3) after a lyrical description of how nature lamented the deed, adds—"Her two women amidst lamentations and grief, gathered flowers to cover her grave, and cut her epitaph in the bark of a tree,—'These flowers cover one whose faithfulness and beauty were unequalled, whom cruel men slew without a cause'" (quoted by Sir Clements Markham, Hakluyt Society, 1861, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii). Other Spanish historians, such as Vasquez, Simon and Piedrahita, say—probably without foundation—that she was a woman of abandoned manners and was the principal cause of Ursua's death.

down the Orinoco. At last, on 1 July 1561, they reached the open sea and sailed for the Island of Margarita, thus completing in 5000 miles one of the most remarkable journeys in the early history of South American exploration. At Margarita, which they captured, they inaugurated a reign of terror: all the Spanish officials were massacred, their wives and daughters outraged, and their houses and the Royal Treasury robbed and burned. After landing at Burburata in Venezuela where he wrote the famous letter of warning and defiance to King Philip (which so horrified the worthy Fray Simon that he refused to print it)¹, Aguirre set off into the interior with the intention of conquering New Granada. But his bloody career was nearly at an end. Early in September he was met in battle and completely defeated by a Spanish force under Gutierrez de la Peña. The last act of this madman was to turn upon his own daughter. "Commend thyself to God, my daughter, for I am about to kill thee; that thou mayest not be pointed out with scorn, nor be in the power of any one who may call thee the daughter of a traitor," and so saying, he plunged a poniard into her bosom. He himself was shot down and then beheaded. According to von Humboldt, Aguirre is still spoken of as *El Tirano* by the people of Margarita, and the natives of Barquicimeto believe that the will-o'-the-wisp is the tyrant's soul wandering in the savannahs, like a flame fleeing the approach of men.

¶ The enterprise of Pedro de Ursua, fearful though its outcome had been, gave rise to no less than five almost simultaneous expeditions. In the year 1566 the wealthy Gomez de Tortoya, a favourite of the Viceroy of Peru, having heard the story of the flight of the Incas into the forests eastward of Cuzco with 40,000 followers and great store of gold, obtained letters patent for himself and his friends, "in order to the pocesing themselves of part of the great Riches of the Amazonian Empire which they were informed of on a Branch of the River Amarumaya" (the Purus or Madre de Dios)². A new Viceroy however compelled Tortoya, who had already spent 14,000 ducats in fitting out an expedition, to

¹ It is translated and printed *in extenso* from *Francisco Vasquez, MS. Relacion*, pp. 79–86 by Sir Clements Markham (*ut supra*) pp. 188–94, and by von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative*, Vol. II, pp. 35–7.

² *The Historical and Geographical Description of the Great River of the Amazonas . . . and of the several Nations inhabiting that ffamous Country, or rather Mightie Realm, or Empire of above three thousand Leagues in Compass, part of which I have seen Myselfe*, by Major John Scott (circa 1670), Rawlinson MSS (Bodleian), A. 175, No. 356, p. 18. Scott was in many ways a disreputable character, but his accuracy as an historian is becoming increasingly recognised. His account of Amazonia is a careful work, based partly on personal observation and partly on contemporary Spanish records.

transfer his rights to one Gaspar de Sotelle, "a man of parts, and the Viceroy's Kinsman." The latter then contracted with Tortoya and his partners, "who drew into the Asotiation the Inca Topacamare of the Race of the Ancient Kings, who had Mightie Credit with the natives called the Chunques, a great Nation on the River Amarumaya." Evidently the agreement between Sotelle and Tortoya was not to the liking of the Viceroy, who proceeded to grant identical privileges to Juan Alvarez Maldonado, famous as the luckiest and most corpulent knight in Peru. Granted a force of four hundred Spanish foot and one hundred horse which had been originally intended for the others, Maldonado in 1567 crossed the snow-clad Cordillera and pushed his way through the dense forests as far as the head-waters of the Amarumaya, where he found Tortoya and his company awaiting him. For three days they fought in the jungle and with such ferocity that all but a few were destroyed. The remnant were disposed of by the savage Chunchos, who killed Tortoya and captured Maldonado. The latter however retained his proverbial luck and in 1569 succeeded in escaping alone through the forests of Caravaya back to Cuzco¹. Such a catastrophe was not likely to encourage other aspirants, but the information which Maldonado brought back served to keep alive the chimera of a dorado de Paytiti between the Purus and the Ucayali. In his account of the expedition he states that the territory of the Mojos was "a land of gold," and that "all these provinces are inhabited by people clothed in cotton, and all having rites and ceremonies like those of the *Yungas* of Peru. The Chunchos and Aravaonas, with the others mentioned, wear feathers and make images and things of rich workmanship and very fine clothing."

¶ The other expeditions of this group indicate a shifting of the centre of interest to the north-east, that is to say, from the southern Paytiti to the Omaguas of the central plains and to the interior of Guiana. Although an independent search was maintained in the south for an Amazonian empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is these other enterprises of 1566-9 which link up the Omaguan discoveries of von Hutten and the Orinoco explorations of Ordaz, Herrera, and Ortal with the subsequent travels of Berrio, Raleigh and Keymis, which finally localised the floating El Dorado legends in the uplands of Guiana between the rivers Rupununi, Essequibo and Parima. In the same year (1566) which saw Maldonado and Tortoya wrangling for the honour of chasing the Incas, one Martin de Proveda set forth from Chachapoyas, a town close

¹ A priest who was taken prisoner by the Chunchos is also said to have escaped and to have reached the Province of Mosca after two years' wandering.

to Lamas where Ursua had embarked for his fatal journey. Striking northward, he and his company slowly cut their way through the jungle until the Napo was crossed and entry was made into the Land of Cinna-mon, where Gonzalo Pizarro had suffered so many hardships. Thence they passed the upper waters of the Putumayu and so into the Papamene province and the land of the Choques Indians. Finally Proveda staggered into Bogota with a miserable remnant of the brave force which had marched out of Peru. Owing to the fact that no startling discoveries were made, this remarkable feat of endurance has not received the same degree of attention as some of the more dramatic enterprises. Nevertheless the legends of wealthy provinces to the eastward, which Proveda brought back from the regions where George of Spiers and Hutten had come upon such promising finds, incited others to follow in the same direction.

¶ The sight of Proveda's departure from Chachapoyas stirred the imagination of a rich citizen of that town named Don Pedro Malaver de Silva. Leaving Chachapoyas, he crossed the Andes into the plains, bearing steadily north-east through the Land of Cinnamon and the region of the Papamene. But as he proceeded, his little band suffered such losses from disease that he was obliged to retreat westward through the plains of San Juan de los Llanos, until the few survivors reached the northern Andes and the town of Santa Fé de Bogota. The importance of the journey—in itself a fine piece of endurance—lies in the native stories which were picked up. They were told that “by the margins of the rivers called Baraguan (Orinoco) and Meta was an innumerable host of people, who were so rich that all the furnishings of their houses were of gold and silver, with (adds Fray Simon) a thousand other lies.” Such tales spread like wild-fire through New Granada, growing ever more imposing as they went, “so that they excited the minds of all the folk in the Kingdom to go in search of those lands¹.” In short, interest was now concentrated upon the Baraguan or Upper Orinoco and its tributaries. From this point El Dorado gradually came to be fixed to the south of the lower reaches of that river. Silva himself was convinced that at last the right track had been found. In 1568 he journeyed to Spain and obtained a commission to conquer and govern the land of the Omaguas and El Dorado. Setting sail with two ships in March 1569, Silva landed at Burburata on the north coast of Venezuela, and marched to Valencia. Unfortunately his followers were of no better quality than Ursua's had been and forthwith deserted in large numbers. His trusted lieutenants, the two brothers Diego and Alonso Braba, particularly distinguished themselves by stealing

¹ Simon, *Primera Parte, Setima Noticia*, cap. iv, p. 577.

his store of wine and sailing off to Carthagena. With only one hundred and forty men Silva marched southward into the plains of the Orinoco basin, but suffered so many losses by conflicts with the Indians and by further desertions, that he was compelled in March 1570 to return to Barquicimeto near Valencia, whence he went to his Peruvian home. Silva's next step is interesting in that it indicates that Guiana was becoming the favourite site for El Dorado. After an interval of a few years he determined to make another effort from the east coast, but starting this time further south. He accordingly proceeded again to Spain to secure the necessary authorisation and support, and in July 1576¹ set sail from Cadiz with one hundred and sixty men, whom he landed on the Guiana coast between the rivers Essequibo and Oyapok (Wiapoco). Silva was thus unconsciously aiming at the identical district in which Keymis and his successors afterwards fixed the legendary Manoa. The ensuing journey was however a terrible disaster. The number of the little force was constantly thinned by disease and by the onslaughts of the ferocious Caribs; Silva and his two little daughters were killed; and finally not a Spaniard was left save one Juan Martin de Albuja, who was taken prisoner and lived among the Indians as a native for ten years, finally turning up at Margarita. That fact, as will be seen later, had an important bearing upon the doings of Sir Walter Raleigh.

¶ Meantime the Spaniards on the north-east coast had been engaged in attempts to conquer and colonise Guiana or "New Andalucia" as they called it. The exploration which took place was probably not directed in search of a dorado or realm of the Incas, but it exerted an influence over subsequent attempts to find that will-o'-the-wisp. As early as August 1549 Don Diego Fernando de Serpa had been commissioned by the Audiencia of Hispaniola to explore and people the region between the Orinoco and the Amazon². But for some unknown reason he failed to take advantage of the concession; in the following year one Francisco del Valle offered to explore New Andalucia in his place. After this, matters

¹ Oviedo erroneously states that the second expedition took place in 1574. See the report of Diego Uchoa de la Vega "of the voyage and journey of Pedro Maraver de Silva from Spain to New Estremadura or El Dorado, beginning July, 1576," dated from Santo Domingo, 30 December 1576, *Archivo General de Indias, Simancas* (transcript in Spanish, Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36314, f. 189). This document corrects and adds to Oviedo's account in many places. For the importance of this valuable MS collection which has not been hitherto utilised for the story of El Dorado, see below, p. lxix.

² See note of his petition (28 July 1549) and appointment and text of his instructions (3 August 1549), dated from Santo Domingo de la Ysla Española, 2 April 1550, *Archivo General de Indias*, transcript (*ut supra*), f. 64. As far as I am aware the Spanish historians do not mention these early preparations of Serpa.

were at a stand for many years, though correspondence occasionally passed on the subject. Between 1565 and 1568 Fernando de Velasco made numerous efforts to secure the governorship under terms similar to those granted to Serpa¹. Then in this latter year (1568) Serpa himself reappeared in Seville at the same time as Pedro de Silva, and received a fresh grant from the King for the region between the mouth of the Orinoco and the frontier of the country conceded to Silva. The latter was able to sail away in the following March, but his rival was detained to serve against the Moorish rebels in Granada. It is not without interest to recall that Antonio de Berrio, the famous adventurer who followed him to Guiana in after years, also served in this campaign. In the autumn of 1569 Serpa was free at last, and set forth with four hundred men. Landing at Cumana, he established a colony on the Rio Salado, where the women-folk who had accompanied the expedition were left behind, and marched south towards the Orinoco. Thereupon the same fate overtook them as befell Pedro de Silva. As they marched, the Spaniards were surprised by a sudden and furious Indian attack. Serpa and the majority of his men were killed on the spot, and the rest scattered. The few who did not die of wounds or disease made their way back to the settlement on the Salado, and soon afterwards, when the place was abandoned, to Margarita.

¶ Meantime the excitement aroused in New Granada by the appearance of Pedro de Silva and his men with their strange tales was infecting the old Adelantado Don Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, the original conqueror and founder of that kingdom. After the death of Serpa, he obtained a capitulation for the regions between the Pauto and the Papamene, and spent 50,000 ducats and the space of three years in searching the plains to find the Indians *de vida politica y urbana, con bien fundadas casas*, spoken of by Silva's followers. The effort met with nothing but disaster. Attempts were made to murder the Adelantado, and his men gradually deserted him in such numbers that he was obliged to struggle back to Tunja, where he shortly afterwards died².

¹ *Archivo General de Indias*, transcript (*ut supra*), ff. 152, 153, 154 b, 160.

² Owing to the fact that the Second Part of Simon's *Noticias Historiales* remained in manuscript until 1882 when it began to be published in instalments at Bogota, no reference has been made by English historians (with the exception of Cunningham Graham, Quesada's recent biographer) to these later journeys of the Adelantado. It was this lack of knowledge which led Sir Robert Schomburgk (Raleigh's *Guiana*, p. 25) to accuse Raleigh of having confounded the travels of Don Gonzalo with those of his brother Hernan Perez de Quesada in 1541. On this point Raleigh's accuracy is vindicated. It is however surprising that Schomburgk did not take note of the following clause which appears in the *First* part to which he had access:—"saliendolas buscar

¶ Thus for more than forty years a series of heroic, and sometimes blood-thirsty, adventurers had sought for El Dorado in almost every region between the coast of Venezuela and the banks of the Amazon, enduring appalling suffering and passing through perils innumerable. One region, the unknown Guiana, had not been explored; and it was in this country that the turn of events was shortly to give a last resting place to the city of the gilded man, before it passed into the shadowy limbo of acknowledged delusion. The legend of a dorado in Guiana was established by Antonio de Berrio, and made famous throughout Europe by Sir Walter Raleigh. Hitherto our knowledge of Berrio has depended almost entirely upon the brief and second-hand information supplied by his English rival. Very fortunately it has been possible for the present editor to bring to light a number of official despatches written on the spot by Berrio himself and by other contemporaries, which not only provide for the first time a complete account of that adventurer's career, but also profoundly modify the accepted view with regard to Raleigh's activities in Guiana. The documents in question, the most important of which are translated and printed in the present volume¹, lay neglected for three centuries in the *Archivo de Indias* at Seville until they, with several hundreds of others, were transcribed for the British Government in 1898 as materials for use in the Arbitration with Venezuela as to the boundaries of British Guiana. At the conclusion of the dispute, the transcripts (in forty volumes) were deposited in the British Museum². To put it briefly, they show beyond doubt that the theory of the existence of a golden city on the shores of a lake amid the uplands of Guiana was entirely the work of Berrio, and that Raleigh broke no new ground whatsoever and merely repeated the Spaniard's ideas. In this matter, as in so many others, Raleigh's importance lies not in concrete achievement, but in his statesmanlike grasp of potentialities. Berrio's mighty travels (save from the point of view of geographical discovery) were entirely valueless; Raleigh's schemes had far-reaching results, and might, if they had been adopted wholeheartedly, have brought about an English Empire in South America.

desde esta ciudad de Santa Fé el Adelantado Don Gonçalo Ximenez de Quesada, como diremos en la segunda parte." (*Setima Noticia*, cap. iv, p. 577.) The travels in question seem to have been undertaken *circa* 1575-8. Simon's account appears in *Segunda Parte, Setima Noticia*, cap. xxvii, xxviii.

¹ See Appendixes A and B below.

² Extracts from many of the documents are printed, with translations, in the blue book, *British Guiana Boundary Appendix to the case on behalf of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, 1898-99*. Dr J. A. Williamson makes use of later portions of this valuable collection in his work *The English in Guiana, 1604-1668* (Oxford, 1923).

¶ Antonio de Berrio, who was born about 1520 at Segovia in Spain, was a man of indomitable courage and energy. It is not the least remarkable feature of his career that he did not begin his arduous travels in search of El Dorado until he was well over sixty years of age and continued them without intermission until his death twelve years later. According to Raleigh, he was "a gent. well descended...of great assurednes, and of a great heart¹," and a consideration of his career justifies the description. He was essentially a soldier, who was more at home on the battlefield than in the library². Diplomacy and statecraft were beyond him, and one cannot but sympathise with his ingenuous appeals to King Philip against the cunning of the Spanish Governors who endeavoured to thwart him. When he died at S. Thomé in 1597, he was a ruined and disappointed man. His military career, which was long and distinguished, seems to have begun in the Italian wars between the French forces and the forces of the Emperor Charles V, "so that" (as Domingo de Vera afterwards remarked) "he is either the oldest or one of the oldest soldiers Your Majesty has³." When Siena revolted from the Emperor in July 1552, Berrio took part in the unsuccessful attack launched against it from Naples in the following January, and in the subsequent blockade which effected submission in 1555. Thereafter he accompanied the Spanish expeditions against the Barbary corsairs, which, after suffering two disasters (1560 and 1562), succeeded in reducing Tetuan and other corsair fortresses along the coast in 1563-4. The scene of his soldiering was then transferred to Germany and afterwards to the Netherlands under Alva, where in 1568 he seems to have played an important part in the Spanish victory of Jemmingen. Promoted to a captaincy in the *Guardia Vieja del Reyno de Granada* and to be Governor of Alpujarra, he was prominent in the campaigns against the Moriscoes of Granada, who in 1568 broke into open revolt against the renewed Spanish persecutions. Berrio rendered particularly valuable service during the period of guerilla warfare in the Alpujarra mountains. During these operations one of his brothers, who was

¹ See below, p. 15.

² At the same time he was a man of considerable acumen who entirely hoodwinked Raleigh into believing that he was an ignoramus. In a later passage (p. 29) Raleigh writes, "neither was he curious in these things (concerning the people and geography of Guiana), being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west." The careful and detailed account which Berrio gives of the Baraguan, with its network of tributaries, and the Papamene shows how completely Raleigh was deceived.

³ See "The Services of Governor Antonio de Berrio" by de Vera to the King, *circa* 1595 (translated and printed below, pp. 89-90). The above account is based on this document together with Berrio's own statements.

serving under him, was killed. Indeed Berrio came of a military family, for he states that two other brothers also lost their lives in the service of Spain, one in Piedmont and another against the Turkish fleet at Lepanto¹.

¶ For some years he is then lost sight of, until the death of the Adelantado Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada diverted his career into entirely new channels. Berrio had married a lady named Doña Maria, daughter of Colonel Don Fernando de Oruña and niece of Quesada². On the death of the latter, it was found that he had bequeathed his vast estates in New Granada to Doña Maria and her husband. Accordingly in 1580 Berrio with his lady and their six little daughters and two sons sailed away from Spain to enter into their inheritance. On arriving in New Granada, Berrio discovered that Don Gonzalo Ximenes had inserted a clause in his will, requiring him to devote himself and the fortune to a continuance of the quest for El Dorado, to which he had devoted his own last years. The heart of the old soldier evidently warmed to the enterprise. "I judged," he afterwards wrote, "that it was no time for me to rest, but to do as I had ever done, to serve Your Majesty." Without delay he obtained a commission from the Royal Audiencia at Santa Fé de Bogota, granting him the sole right of exploring the area between the Pauto and the Papamene for two years at his own expense. Armed with this authority, he proceeded to spend 40,000 ducats in raising and equipping a force of about two hundred men and in collecting a great quantity of horses, cattle, ammunition and stores. But just when preparations were almost complete, the Licentiate Peralta and Perez de Salazar required him to amalgamate his expedition with that of Franciso de Caceres whom they had subsidised³. When he indignantly refused, they responded by nominating six other captains to conduct independent expeditions, thus infringing his monopoly. Berrio, however, reduced his force to one hundred (of whom twenty soon deserted) and passing the Cordillera by

¹ See Berrio to the King (2 December 1594), *Archivo General de Indias* (transcript in Add. MSS, 36315, f. 203).

² Hitherto it has been an open question among the Spanish and English historians as to whether Berrio's wife was the daughter or the adopted child or the niece of Quesada. Berrio's statements (see below, pp. 94, 97) settle the matter. Fray Pedro Simon gets it right but Raleigh himself, Sir Clements Markham (*Hakluyt Society* 1861, p. lii) and Sir Robert Schomburgk (*Raleigh's Guiana*, Hakluyt Society 1848, p. 5, note 1) erroneously state that she was Don Gonzalo's daughter.

³ Berrio's statement to this effect is corroborated by the following document: "The Licentiate Perez de Salacer to the King, respecting money sent to the Governor Francisco de Caceres, which he devoted to an expedition in search of El Dorado," Santa Fé, 6 May 1584 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36314, f. 238). Caceres, who was a nobleman of Aragon, had accompanied Serpa in his journey.

Tunja early in January 1584, descended into the plains. After crossing the Pauto, a tributary of the Meta, he journeyed for two hundred and fifty leagues south-eastward through a region of swamps, intersected by the numerous tributaries of the upper Meta, and so into the llanos between the Meta and the Vichada, until at last "by the Grace of God and His Glorious Mother, and on Palm Sunday in the year eighty four, I discovered the Cordillera on the other side of the plains." The distant peaks which he saw breaking the line of the horizon must have been those of the Sierra Mapicha to the east of the Orinoco. Berrio's delight was extreme. He had discovered, he declared, the Cordillera which had been sought in vain for over seventy years. In point of fact he was not the first European to see these mountains, for von Hutten in 1541 had come upon them, but had turned to the south-west to avoid their inaccessible slopes. None the less, Berrio's rediscovery was to lay the foundation of the legend of El Dorado in Guiana. Having arrived within sixteen leagues of the range, the Spaniards were brought to a halt by the winter floods, and were obliged to encamp for four months, during which they were subjected to a number of Indian attacks. From the prisoners which they took and others who were more friendly they collected information which rejoiced their hearts. "In the mountains," they were told, "there is a very large laguna, and on the other side are great towns and a vast population with gold and precious stones¹." In the Guiana uplands there were in truth populous and powerful tribes, and there was (as long as the floods lasted) the Great White Sea of Parima, but it was not the sacred lake nor did the *gran numero de gente* constitute the Inca city of Manoa.

¶ Upon the abatement of the waters, Berrio set out again in high hope towards the Cordillera, and soon found himself upon the banks of the Baraguan or Orinoco. He had come to the water-side, according to his own description, at a spot where "within a distance of two leagues four other great rivers enter this one²." After crossing the Baraguan, Berrio considered of the best means to ascend the Cordillera. But the fever-laden

¹ "Dizen que en la Cordillera ay una laguna grandissima y que de la otra parte della ay grandes poblaciones y muy gran numero de gente y gran riqueza de oro y piedra" (Berrio to the King, 24 May 1585, *Archivo General de Indias. Papales pertenecientes á los Generales y Almirantes de Armadas, años 1520 á 1624*, Estante 2, cajon 5, legajo 9, letra B 2, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, f. 238, translated and printed below, pp. 91-5).

² The rivers in question would seem to have been the Tomo, Tuparo, Sipapo, and Vichada, which enter the Orinoco close together a short distance above the great Cataract of Atures. A more probable identification would be the four much greater tributaries, the Guaviare, Papanava, Ventuari, and Atabapo (where S. Fernando de Atabapo now stands), except that this site is too far south.

swamps had wrought such havoc among his men that he could find only thirteen in a condition to accompany him. For ten days the little party marched on foot until they came to the outlying spurs of the mountain range, but to ascend was beyond their strength. So returning to the encampment on the river bank, Berrio proceeded down-stream in a boat for about six miles and found an island in the narrows which he was convinced marked the limit of the mountains and the beginning of an open road into Guiana. It was this conviction which led him to make his remarkable voyage down the Orinoco to the Atlantic. Returning once more to the camp, he discovered that not a single soldier was fit for duty, and was therefore reluctantly compelled to turn homewards, determined to pursue his valuable discovery another time. The journey back to New Granada followed a drier and more northerly route along the banks of the Meta and the Cacanare. Seventeen months after setting out, Berrio was in Santa Fé again in the spring of 1585, having lost only eight Spaniards in the enterprise. Such, in brief, is the hitherto unknown story of this hardy adventurer's first search for El Dorado, which ultimately guided the footsteps of Raleigh and, through him, of many thousands of adventurers to Guiana.

¶ Convinced that he was hot upon the scent, Berrio lost no time in organising a new force and collecting fresh supplies of ammunition and stores; and so set forth once more. This second journey was a much more extensive search than the previous one and lasted for two and a half years, that is to say, from the summer of 1585 to the early spring of 1588. His intention was to return to the Orinoco and proceed down-stream until the mountains were skirted and it was possible to march into the interior of Guiana. He pointed out to the King that the situation of Trinidad, opposite the mouth of the Orinoco, made that island an invaluable base for future operations against the rich empire which was about to be discovered. In fact, the outline of his subsequent tactics, which Raleigh adopted *in toto*, had already taken shape in his mind. On this occasion Berrio struck further south than before, and after crossing the Orinoco, explored the base of the mountain range for two hundred leagues in a fruitless attempt to find a pass by which to make an entry. Returning to the Orinoco, he was beginning to build a fleet of canoes with which to travel down the river, when one of the captains, Gonzalo de Piña mutinied and fled back to New Granada with the greater part of the men, and Berrio was obliged to follow.

¶ On reaching home, he found that a royal commission had arrived, appointing him Governor of the province of El Dorado, otherwise called

Guiana, and investing him with ample powers¹. A more powerful expedition than either of the two previous ones was accordingly prepared, which, after assembling on the banks of the Cacanare, set out from thence on 19 March 1590. The force consisted of a hundred and twelve Spaniards, a few native attendants, two hundred and twenty horses, twenty canoes, twenty rafts, and a large supply of stores. This journey, which is that briefly described by Raleigh², is by far the most important of Berrio's adventures. As in the case of Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition, the force was divided into two parties, one travelling by water, and the other by land. Berrio himself went on board the boats with seventy men, while his lieutenant Alvaro Jorge (who followed him faithfully throughout and died in his service) took the remaining forty-two to lead the horses along the banks. Thus they travelled down the Cacanare into the Pauto, by the Pauto into the Meta, and so floated with the current into the Baraguan or Orinoco. "After he entered that great and mightie river," writes Raleigh, "he began dailie to loose of his companie both men and horse"; and, worse still, he could find no gap by which to pass the towering battlement which confronted him. For over a year he travelled slowly down the river, fruitlessly exploring a belt of country ten or twelve leagues deep along the right bank; but there was no break in the mountains. The rainy season was spent (very unwisely) in the marshes of Amapaia, where the Spaniards suffered greatly from the effects of the pestilential water and from frequent attacks by the Indians. By that time the expedition had come to desperate straits. All the canoes had been lost among the sharp rocks and swirling eddies; thirty-four Spaniards had deserted, carrying off many of the horses; another thirty, with all the natives, had died of disease; and starvation was within measurable distance. Finally, as a desperate venture, Berrio had led the survivors from their winter quarters right away from the river, striking due east towards the mountains, but had been compelled to return after four months, without having found the pass so ardently desired.

¶ It was at this juncture that Berrio displayed his fine qualities of leadership. From the Indians he had heard that far down the Orinoco there was

¹ Cf. the letters of Doctor Nuñez to the King (Madrid, 25 February, 19 June, 4 September 1586) urging that the capitulation made to him by the Audiencia of Santa Fé should receive royal confirmation (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, ff. 28, 71 b, 72 b). Some of the details of the commission can be gathered from Berrio's subsequent despatches.

² See below, pp. 27-30. Hitherto our knowledge of this great journey has been derived almost entirely from Raleigh. It will be noted that Berrio seems to have given Raleigh a grossly exaggerated account of the size of the expedition.

a great tributary called the Caroni, near which was the country of a chief named Morequito, where "the mountains ended and the provinces of Guiana began, behind which in turn came those of Manoa and El Dorado." He determined to find this country of Morequito at all costs. Four boats were built, and all the remaining horses were killed and the meat salted in order to provide food. Fortune favoured them. On the first day of their journey the services of a party of Caribs were secured, who were out on a kidnapping expedition to supply the wherewithal for a cannibal feast. As they travelled down the river together, Berrio eagerly questioned these guides concerning Guiana, and, of course, had great secrets revealed to him which confirmed all his previous information. For two hundred leagues they floated with the current through regions which had been utterly deserted by reason of the Carib incursions, until they came to a colony of Caribs at the mouth of the Caroni. There they were kindly received and learnt that the borders of Guiana began a hundred leagues inland. The great waterfall near the mouth of the Caroni, which Raleigh afterwards saw and described so vividly¹, barred that particular entry into the promised land, and Berrio continued his journey for another four leagues to the province of Morequito, where he stayed for two months. In both of his reports Berrio slurs over this phase of the journey: but in view of Morequito's subsequent hostility and other evidence², it seems that the Spaniards quarrelled with their host and suffered heavy losses. Berrio at any rate admits that the Indians took advantage of their weakness to carry off all their provisions. So, despite the alluring news that the golden cities of Guiana were situated at a distance of only four days' journey, he was obliged to proceed down the river for another twenty leagues to the province of Barquicana (Raleigh's Emeria) where the Cacique Carapana submitted to Spanish authority and supplied further accounts of Guiana's magnificence.

¶ For two months Berrio remained there, hoping for reinforcements from Margarita³, while his forty-five fever-stricken followers were daily diminished by death. But when week succeeded week and no help came,

¹ See below, p. 54.

² Cf. the (exaggerated) statement of Don Juan Sarmiento de Villandrando to the King (24 October 1591), that Berrio lost his entire force in the Orinoco (printed below, p. 105).

³ He had written from the mouth of the Caroni to Don Juan Sarmiento, Governor of Margarita, appealing for help. But he had sent the letters by way of Trinidad, being under the impression that that island had been colonised in accordance with his suggestion made to the home authorities in 1585 (see below, p. 100). As this step had not been taken, the letters naturally got no further.

the situation became desperate, and he decided for the time being to turn his back on El Dorado (at the very gates of which he believed himself to be standing), and to make a dash for Margarita, the nearest Spanish colony. By great good fortune the exhausted Spaniards succeeded in negotiating one of the many and dangerous outlets of the Orinoco (possibly the Boca Macareo by which Raleigh returned), and on 1 September 1591, arrived at Trinidad. Three weeks were spent in reconnoitring that Island with a view to future developments; and then after a perilous voyage in their small craft, they came at last to Margarita and to safety. Such is the story of Berrio's remarkable journey from Peru to the Atlantic, our knowledge of which has hitherto been almost entirely derived from the brief account provided by Raleigh. Viewed as an achievement, it is as great, if not greater, than any of those which precede it. In respect of its influence upon subsequent events, it is by far the most important, for it directed the search for El Dorado to a new and comparatively restricted area. Raleigh, it may be repeated, did little more than elaborate and popularise a theory which had been built up by his Spanish predecessor.

¶ From the voluminous correspondence of Berrio with Philip II it is now possible to give a connected narrative of the events which took place during the years immediately preceding Raleigh's arrival in the Orinoco. As the description proceeds, it will be found that the latter's account of these events is verified point by point. Indeed the new manuscript sources at our disposal provide abundant proof that Raleigh reported all that he saw and heard with extraordinary accuracy, although (as will be indicated later) he was not above suppressing certain reverses which he suffered himself.

¶ As soon as Berrio set foot on Margarita he came at loggerheads with the local officials. Within a few days the Governor of the Island, Don Juan Sarmiento de Villandrando, wrote to the King, asserting that Berrio had mismanaged the entire enterprise, and that, solely for the purpose of saving His Majesty from such impostors and of preventing such terrible losses for the future, he had decided to seek for El Dorado himself¹. Berrio, who had taken up his abode at Sarmiento's house, was disgusted at the failure to send him reinforcements. Nor did his anger abate when he learnt that one Lucas Fajardo (Raleigh's Fashardo), who had set out with forty arquebusiers to meet him, had fallen in with some stragglers of his company, and that they had conducted Fajardo and his men back to the province of Morequito, where they plundered the

¹ Printed below, pp. 105-6.

inhabitants and carried off "about three hundred stolen souls" whom they sold into slavery¹. In time to come the unfortunate Berrio was to pay dear for that wanton act. On Fajardo's return, Berrio indignantly demanded that he should be punished. When Sarmiento responded by sending him to prison for two days and then releasing him, he became suspicious that the Governor was playing for his own hand. Suspicion then grew to certainty, as he persistently evaded Berrio's offers to join with him in the enterprise, and at the same time thwarted all his efforts to raise a new expedition on his own account. Berrio, like most of his contemporaries, was capable of savage brutality; but it is pathetic to see this stout-hearted old soldier of seventy years of age, whose wife had just died and whose family was fifteen hundred miles away, being thwarted on every hand as he strove to reach a goal which did not exist.

¶ It must have been during this period of enforced inaction that Berrio heard the story of Juan Martin de Albujar, who as "*Johannes Martines*"² figures so prominently in Raleigh's narrative. Having been captured by the Caribs of the Orinoco during Pedro de Silva's expedition, Albujar "turned native," married an Indian woman, and lived among them by the banks of the upper Caroni for ten years in the style of a Cacique. During that period he made many long journeys and even visited Santa Fé de Bogota. At last, however, the desire to rejoin his countrymen grew too strong to be resisted and he set out for the east coast. Passing from tribe to tribe, he came among the Arawaks on the River Essequibo, who were on friendly terms with the Spaniards. After six months' waiting, he seized the opportunity of accompanying a party of these Indians who were going to Trinidad. From thence he made his way to Margarita, where he went straightway to the Church, fell upon his knees, and in broken Castilian gave thanks to God who had delivered him out of the hands of barbarians and restored him to a Christian country. The spectacle of one, who was to all appearance an Indian chief, saying his orisons in the Spanish tongue naturally aroused considerable astonishment, and very soon he was a popular hero. The situation evidently presented the adventurous Martin with a temptation that was irresistible. He was acquainted with the legend of the gilded man and with the alluring

¹ Sarmiento claimed that he had directly commissioned Fajardo and his company to go to Berrio's aid (*ibid.*). The latter, on the contrary, asserted that Fajardo set out on his own account, and not with the intention of rendering assistance, but merely impelled by the desire to share in the spoil if El Dorado was discovered (see, Berrio to the King, 1 January 1593, printed below, p. 100).

² Humboldt's identification (*ut supra*, Vol. III, pp. 51-2) of Martines with Martin de Albujar seems incontestable.

stories collected by Pedro de Silva and other explorers; he himself had traversed the mesopotamia between the Parima and the Rupununi where periodic inundations create immense lagunas; and furthermore he had probably heard of the Mahanoa Indians who inhabited that region¹. From these materials it was no difficult task to concoct a marvellous story that, after his capture, he had been conducted blindfolded to "the great Citie of *Manoa*, the seate and residence of *Inga* the Emperor," who had entreated him with kindness and at the end of seven months had sent him back to his own folk, laden with gold. Appropriate details were added: the journey from the gates of the city to the Inca's palace lasted from dawn till dark; on solemn feast days the Emperor's courtiers were stripped naked and covered with gold dust before beginning the carouse; and the gifts of gold were stolen from the adventurer on his way back to the Orinoco. According to Raleigh, Berrio had a copy of a sworn deposition to this effect, which Albuja made when at the point of death in Porto Rico.

¶ Subsequent commentators in following Raleigh have assumed that it was Albuja's fabrication which created the legend of Gran Manoa on the shores of Lake Parima in Guiana. But such does not appear to have been the case. There is not a single reference to Juan Martin in Berrio's despatches. And although the latter may have suppressed any such mention in order to secure the sole credit to himself, it seems more probable that he did not regard the story which he handed on to Raleigh very seriously. At any rate the idea of a lake with a city, or cities of vast wealth situated behind the mountains of Guiana is clearly outlined in his letter of 1586, which was written from Bogota six years before his arrival on the east coast. It was a notion which had long been taking shape in the minds of Serpa, Silva and Gonzalo Ximenez, and which was definitely localised by Berrio. Juan Martin's contribution was probably the name, Manoa, which begins to appear in Berrio's letters after 1591. In short, it was a useful story with which to attract interest and support for an already existing theory.

¶ While Berrio was impatiently waiting at Margarita for a reply to the letters which he had sent to Spain, he came upon Domingo de Vera Ybarguen, who was henceforth to be closely associated with him in his great enterprise and to be indirectly responsible for his ruin and death.

¹ See Schomburgk's statement (Raleigh's *Guiana*, p. 18). "According to a manuscript which we had in our hands while in Demerara, a tribe of Mahanoas is said to have inhabited the tributaries of the Rio Branco, Takutu, and Rupununi, of whom he (Albuja) must have learnt through the Caribs."

This man was a born adventurer, possessed of considerable but ill-balanced ability. Cunning, volatile, even brilliant, he was lacking in ballast. His keen wit and persuasive tongue deluded all Spain, from the King downwards, into lending him their support; but his inborn love of the theatrical (which can even be discerned in the flamboyant rhetoric of his correspondence) led him into indiscretions which brought disaster upon himself and his colleagues. A man who is animated by a soaring ambition, but who treats concrete considerations with lofty disdain, is a dangerous ally, and so Berrio found him to his cost¹. When the enterprise was now broached to him, Domingo de Vera took it up with enthusiasm, and was accordingly sent off to his own town of Caracas to solicit aid from Don Diego Osorio, Governor of Venezuela. To Berrio's delight, the mission was successful, Osorio supplying him with a number of soldiers and a sum of money. Thus reinforced, he lost no time in sending Vera with about thirty men to occupy Trinidad as a base from which to conduct future operations up the Orinoco. On 19 May 1592, the new-found lieutenant, who now styled himself *Royal Maestre de Campo General*, celebrated the formal settlement of the Island and the foundation of a city therein, S. Josef de Oruña, with pomp and ceremony such as his soul loved². A systematic survey of the population and resources of the Island was then made.

¶ Berrio himself seems to have stayed at Margarita for the remainder of the year 1592, where, despite the opposition of Villandrando, he supervised operations at Trinidad and established friendly relations with the Caribs and Arawaks of the lower Orinoco. It was probably during this period that the redoubtable chieftain, Morequito, was persuaded to accept the Christian faith. Then, just when Berrio's patient preparations were almost complete and he was about to sail to his base at Trinidad, whence he intended to lead his men to Manoa, another obstacle appeared in his path. On Christmas Eve, 1592, one Francisco de Vides turned up from Spain with a royal commission appointing him Governor of Cumana,

¹ Cf. Pedro Simon's verdict: "muy ladino, de buen entendimiento y mayor inventiva para trazas de sus acrecentamientos, a que le ayudava no poco una gran persuasion natural que tenia para hacer creer no solo que habia tocado con las manos, pero aun lo que habia cogido al vuelo de noticias mal fundadas. . ." (*Primera Parte Setima Noticia*, cap. x, p. 598).

² Notarial record of the proceedings of Domingo de Vera at the formal settlement of Trinidad, "frontera y entrada para el rrio Orinoco de las muy rricas provincias de Guayana, Dorado, y Manoa," and of the city of S. Josef de Oruña, 19 May 1592. Extracted at Oruña, 16 June 1592 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36316, f. 6).

and the region of New Andalucia formerly granted to Serpa, provided that he colonised Trinidad within six months of his arrival¹. To Berrio it was a bitter blow. He could, and did, maintain that his own commission was of prior date, but the counter-argument of Vides that that document, in conceding the sole right of conquering the regions between the Pauto and the Papamene, could not be taken to include the provinces of the lower Orinoco and Trinidad, was uncomfortably convincing. In fact, after spending vast sums of money and enduring great hardships, Berrio saw the ground being cut from under his feet. Straightway Berrio wrote *con la mayor humildad que se puede imaginar casi*, beseeching Vides for the love of God to send him seventy well-equipped soldiers and adequate stores, so that he might go without delay to the gates of those mighty provinces. In return he would write to the King asking for authorisation to hand over Trinidad. Not unnaturally, perhaps, Vides refused to reply². Berrio, however, was taking no chances. On 2 January he hastened to Trinidad with another twenty soldiers, supplied by Don Osorio, in order to anticipate his rival. The Island was scoured for provisions, and the land divided into estates for the soldier settlers. This was done, reported Vera, "without it having been necessary to inflict punishments or death, as the natives of their own free-will had proffered peace and service³." Raleigh tells a very different tale⁴.

¶ The necessity for speedy action decided Berrio not to wait until he had collected a large force, but immediately to send the handful of men whom he could spare, to discover the exact locality of the Manoan city and so stake out a claim upon it. In April 1593, Domingo de Vera set out from Trinidad with thirty-five men and proceeded up the Orinoco to the territory of Morequito near the right bank of the Caroni. An extract from the official account of this mission was published by Raleigh as an appendix to his narrative, among a number of Spanish "Letters Taken at Sea by Captaine Popham, 1594⁵." By an extraordinary coincidence another copy of this deposition, which reached Spain in safety, has been preserved at Seville, and a certified transcript is now in the British Museum⁶. The fortunate capture of this document provided

¹ See, Report by the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 31 December 1591 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, f. 285).

² Berrio to the King, 2 December 1594 (*ibid.* 36315, f. 213).

³ Domingo de Vera to the King, 17 August 1593 (*ibid.* 36315, f. 237 b).

⁴ See below, p. 14.

⁵ See below, pp. 79-85.

⁶ *Archivo General de Indias* (Estante i, Cajon i, Legajo 1/26, Numero 33), transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36316, f. 30. For a comparison between Raleigh's version and the official document, see below, p. 79, note 1.

Raleigh with the key to Berrio's secrets. The narrative depicts Vera's journey as a triumphal progress, during which every Cacique gladly accepted Spanish sovereignty and listened with all his people to the friar, Francisco Carillo, as he preached the truths of the Christian faith. Berrio's despatches, however, indicate that the course of events was by no means so unruffled. Evidently the chief Morequito (or to give him his new Christian name, Don Antonio) had made war on the Spaniards after the treachery of Fajardo and his people; for we are now told that he was "set at liberty." On 23 April Vera addressed the assembled soldiers, recounting the brave doings of Berrio, and with solemn ceremonial took formal possession of the land. "And because some make question of this possession, to them I answer that in these our actions was present the *Casique* or principal *Don Atho*: otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeilded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to Our Lord the King, and in his name to the said Gouverneur Antho: de Berrio." Morequito's submission, however, was more feigned than real. According to Berrio, he planned a massacre of Vera's party, and when that failed, issued strict injunctions to his subjects to hide all their articles of gold from the avaricious eyes of the Spaniards. In the light of this and other evidence, Raleigh's statement that Morequito had visited Cumana some years before to trade and had by his offers to show the way to El Dorado inspired Vides to go to Spain for a commission, seems very probable. Both Vides and Morequito had good reasons for desiring the discomfiture of Berrio, who was to suffer many things at their hands.

¶ After travelling inland through the valleys of the Upata, Vera seems to have skirted the Sierra Piacoa, bearing south-west¹. After travelling for a fortnight, during which he had a cross set up in each village and received the submission of the Cacique, he came to the district of the chief Parigua "who calls himself Carapano." At this place Vera made further enquiries as to El Dorado, and the reply which he received became the final basis for Berrio's theory of Gran Manoa, which was adopted by Raleigh. He was told that at a distance of one day's journey began the Province of Macuraguara (Raleigh's Macureguarai) behind which came another province named Gaygapari (Raleigh's Gocuerpari). To the east

¹ Vera himself gives no precise indication of the direction which he took. The above suggestion is based on the following statement by Berrio: "La gran noticia y provincias son del rio Canori arriba aunque la entrada es por aquel propio puesto ase de entrar caminando algunas leguas al sur y luego rebuelven las poblaciones al sudueste y despues al hueste..." (Berrio to the King, 2 December 1594).

of that again were the Piriami, who bordered the province of Yguaracuyri (Raleigh's Iwarawaqueri). Southward of the two first-named provinces there was a great salt lake, known to the natives as "the sea," where a vast population of clothed people had made their appearance some twenty years before, who were great traders, had conquered the tribes on the southern margins of the lake, and were at constant feud with the Indians on the northern side. Close to this lake, which was said to be about two hundred and fifty miles from where the Spaniards were, the Rio Caroni took its rise. Finally they were told that among the Guiana mountains away to the west dwelt a race of men, "whose shoulders were so high that they were almost on a level with the head¹." The stories collected by Berrio in 1591 were thus supplied with precise details, and the El Dorado legend had at last found an abiding place.

¶ An analysis of the information itself provides important data. Humboldt long ago demonstrated that the lake Cassipa, which was supposed to exist at, or near, the source of the Caroni was nothing but the Paragua, a tributary of that river, which, "passing through a country entirely flat, is subject at the same time to great inundations, and its real bed can scarcely be discovered." The Caribs called this swollen river *paragua*, which means in their tongue "sea" or "great lake": hence the misunderstanding². But when he assumes (having only Raleigh's account to guide him) that Berrio's lake of Manoa was not Cassipa but another and much larger one to the south of it, he is clearly at fault³. Berrio's references are all to one lake from which the Caroni took its rise. Raleigh himself held that there were two lakes—Cassipa, which was forty miles in breadth, and Manoa, "a second Caspian,"—a conclusion which he probably adopted after his conversations with the natives had convinced him that Paragua (or Cassipa) was too small to fit in with his notion of a vast inland sea. This reasoning pushed the Laguna de Manoa so far south that Keymis (acting under his instructions) subsequently sought for it up the River Essequibo, and in so doing identified it with the Great White Sea of Parima—another example of river inundation. Another point of interest is that the name and locality of the provinces in Vera's deposition coincide almost exactly with Raleigh's description, even including the

¹ See the original passage from which the above account is drawn, p. 82, note 1, below.

² Humboldt (*ut supra*), Vol. III, p. 32.

³ See Berrio's own statement, p. 107 below. Humboldt's statement is as follows: "Several of the Spanish historians believed that this lake, the source of the Carony, was the Grand Manoa of Berrio; but the notions he communicated to Raleigh show that the Laguna de Manoa was supposed to be south of the Rio Paragua, transformed into Laguna Cassipa" (p. 52). The Spanish historians are correct.

story of the men "whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." As already stated, he was in possession of a copy of this document, and very possibly he copied largely from it. If, on the other hand, he gleaned his information from independent enquiry, then the close similarity between the two accounts is a striking tribute to his own accuracy. Finally the question arises as to the truth of the tale that a horde of semi-civilised people had invaded and conquered the upper reaches of the Caroni. So powerful and recent an invasion was not likely to be mere invention. It seems at least possible that the conquerors were the Arekunas, who were noted for their personal adornment and fine physique. It is known that they originally inhabited the banks of the Uaupes, in the neighbourhood of the Omaguas, and that they migrated to the district about the sources of the Caroni and Cuyuni, where in diminished numbers they still exist. Ever since the migration they have preyed upon the Macusis to the north. Furthermore, their extensive trading operations not only gained them a certain amount of gold, but in earlier days brought them into contact with the civilised west. Some of their customs closely resemble those of Peru¹. In fact Berrio's Manoa in Guiana seems to have been based on much the same degree of truth as Hutten's El Dorado of the Omaguas. In both cases a powerful nation had appeared and conquered the surrounding tribes, who held them in such awe for their prowess and comparative wealth, that they believed and repeated wildly exaggerated tales. And in both cases the European explorers, hearing those tales, identified them with the legends of a gilded man and a reconstituted empire of the Incas. In the case of Berrio and Raleigh, however, there was the additional and convincing detail of a lake.

¶ When Vera and his company reappeared at Trinidad in May 1593 with their circumstantial story, and laden with golden ornaments, Berrio was overjoyed. Without delay, he sent Vera to his ally, Don Diego Osorio, at Caracas to give him a full account of what had happened and a present of some of the trinkets, which were of such workmanship (said Berrio) "that I know not whether the silver-smiths of Spain could fashion conceits so life-like and of such perfection as the Indians of this Laguna

¹ "The alleged use of the *quippos* [a knotted cord used by the Peruvians to make additions] among the Arekunas in former times would seem to indicate an intercourse with some of the more civilised nations of the west. To a tribe dwelling as they did on the Rio Negro, in the heart of the continent, such communication was indeed not impossible." (W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, London, 1863, p. 479: cf. W. E. Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, Washington, 1924.)

make¹." Osorio received the emissary "with smooth words"; but when he was asked to provide reinforcements for the immediate occupation of Manoa, he politely refused, and afterwards despatched a force of a hundred and seventy men under Don Pedro de Agreda to find the coveted city on his own account. Berrio was thus deserted by his only supporter and was now faced by three formidable rivals, Osorio, Villandrando and Vides. His joy turned to despair: "the devil himself is the patron of this enterprise," was his bitter comment. But worse was to follow. Some months later a new viceroy of Peru, in passing by Margarita on his way thither, left a packet of six official instructions for Berrio in charge of the Governor of Margarita, Villandrando. According to Berrio, the latter deliberately secreted these letters and refused to give them up. One, however, was surrendered, which required Vides at Cumana to render all possible assistance². There was small chance of help from that quarter, but Berrio was becoming desperate. Ten of his men and a friar had been attacked and killed by Morequito while on their way back from the interior, and although a punitive expedition had exacted vengeance, his command of the lower Orinoco was becoming precarious³. Furthermore he was being harrassed at Trinidad by frequent Carib raids and by English ships on their way to trade for tobacco in the Orinoco and the Main. He therefore sent the letter to Vides in charge of Phelipe de Santiago, a trusted lieutenant, and a friar named Domingo de Santa Agueda, "beseeching him for the love of God" to send help in accordance with the royal order. In reply, Vides not only returned a flat refusal, but commanded Vera on pain of death to terminate his efforts to gather recruits. ¶ Two lines of action, however, were still open to Berrio, on the one hand, to procure aid from New Granada, and secondly, to secure the direct intervention of the Home Government. The former course was adopted by sending his elder son Fernando, who had accompanied him on his arduous journey, back to Tunja, to organise a new expedition. Some months later the *Sargento Mayor* was also sent, in order to assist Fernando, who was but a youth of sixteen or seventeen. The appeal to

¹ Berrio to the King, 24 November 1593 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, f. 230). Cf. Vera to the King, 17 August 1593, *ibid.* f. 257 b.

² This was Villandrando's last act of hostility against Berrio. He was killed in November 1593, while defending Margarita against an English force under Sir John Burgh (*ibid.* 36316, f. 54; cf. Raleigh's statement, p. 22, below). Villandrando came of an unfortunate family, his father, who was Governor of Margarita before him, having been murdered by the tyrant Lope de Aguirre.

³ Cf. Raleigh's account (pp. 31-2, below). Berrio makes no mention in any of his letters of the flight of Morequito for protection to Vides at Cumana nor of his subsequent execution.

the King was entrusted to Domingo de Vera, who wrote from Caracas, in August 1593, that he would start for Spain "on the first opportunity of passage that offers itself¹." In the following year these dispositions began to produce definite results. A company of soldiers arrived from New Granada, whom Berrio immediately stationed in the district of his ally, Carapana², and Fernando wrote to say that he would come himself with a large force in the following summer. Had he hastened Raleigh would have met with a hot reception.

¶ Berrio's statement that he established a garrison with Carapana raises an interesting and important point. English historians, following Pedro Simon and Caulin, have always held that Berrio founded the town of S. Thomé on the south bank of the Orinoco in 1591³; and because Raleigh makes no mention of it in his journey up-stream, Schomburgk suggests that "perhaps policy directed him to keep the existence of a Spanish settlement in Guiana a secret." The reason of Raleigh's silence seems to have been that no such town then existed. A settlement of that name was founded by Berrio near the mouth of the Caroni in 1595, soon after Raleigh's return to England. No mention of S. Thomé appears in the despatches of Berrio or of any of the neighbouring Governors before that date: after 1595 the notices are immediate and frequent. When part of the expedition under Keymis rowed up the Orinoco in March 1596, they found to their surprise and disappointment that Berrio and his men had established themselves near the Caroni for the express purpose of preventing the return of the English to that region⁴. Prior to 1595 Berrio contented himself with maintaining a kind of out-post lower down the river in the village of Carapana, which is placed on Raleigh's map a comparatively short distance from the estuary of the Orinoco⁵. The new S. Thomé, which was probably founded in or shortly after 1612, and

¹ *Ut supra*, f. 237 b. His departure was, however, delayed. He did not set sail until the middle of November 1594. (See the Petition of Alvaro Jorge and others to the King, 12 November 1594 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, f. 245).

² Berrio to the King, 3 December 1594 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, f. 262).

³ Simon, *Primera Parte, Setima Noticia*, cap. x, p. 597; Caulin, *Historia Corografica de la Nueva-Andalucia*, p. 175. Among others, Humboldt repeats the mistake (*Personal Narrative*, III, pp. 1-2).

⁴ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Vol. x, p. 452.

⁵ Cf. the following statements: (i) "I have begun to send forces to the lower reaches of the River which I hold, being established in the provinces of Carapana" (Berrio to the King, 3 December 1594, *ut supra*); (ii) "Antonio de Berrio has gone to the river Orinoco with ten men, . . . where he settled in the town of the Cacique Morequito, a distance of eighty leagues from the estuary of the river Orinoco"—i.e. at the Port of Morequito near the mouth of the Caroni (Pedro de Liaño to the King, 12 April 1596, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36317, f. 16).

which proved such a fatal obstacle to Raleigh's last enterprise in 1617, was situated on the Orinoco about thirty miles east of the Caroni. Thus, when Raleigh stated that Berrio "alwaies appointed 10 *Spaniards* to reside in *Carapanas* towne¹," he wrote the literal truth and was not therein disguising a fortified Spanish settlement.

¶ While Berrio was waiting for Vera to set out for Spain and so end his troubles, as he hoped, Francisco de Vides continued to make mischief. In October 1594, he suddenly made his appearance at Trinidad with twenty-five men of Cumana and "several gentlemen," demanding by virtue of his commission that Berrio should immediately evacuate the Island. But when he saw that Vides had no intention of himself colonising Trinidad (which his commission required him to do), Berrio stood firm, and his rival was obliged to return to Cumana discomfited. As usual, Berrio poured out the vials of his wrath in a lengthy epistle to the King, in which he traced his misfortunes from the first exit from Tunja in 1584 up to the moment of writing. In hot indignation he called for a judicial enquiry into the conduct of Vides, "so that he may be punished for these and other great misdemeanours which he committeth every day." A striking testimony of the personal loyalty which Berrio inspired is to be found in a petition which Alvaro Jorge and other twenty-seven survivors of the great journey from New Granada drew up and sent to the King at this time. Therein they expatiated upon the hardships which they had endured during the previous thirteen years and the great services rendered by their chief, and after recounting the ill deeds of Vides, made an urgent appeal that Berrio should be confirmed in his possession of Trinidad. Domingo de Vera, they added, was on the point of going to Spain to explain these matters to the King and to seek assistance².

¶ So during the winter of 1594-5 Berrio possessed himself with what patience he could muster, and waited for Vera to return with the great expedition which should finally enter the gates of Manoa. Then suddenly disaster descended upon him from an entirely unexpected quarter. On 4 April, Sir Walter Raleigh, with four ships and a number of launches for river navigation, dropped anchor at Port of Spain, having already spent twelve days in reconnoitring the Island without attracting the Spaniards' attention. Berrio was taken completely by surprise. In the previous year Captain Jacob Whiddon had arrived at Trinidad under orders from

¹ See text, below, p. 32.

² Alvaro Jorge and twenty-seven others to the King, 12 November 1594, at S. Josef de Oruña, Trinidad (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36315, ff. 241-5).

Raleigh to find out all he could about El Dorado; and although Berrio had treacherously slain eight of his men, he had not thought the incident of sufficient importance to deserve mention in his despatches.

¶ The stirring events which then followed are vividly told by Raleigh himself and in the reports of the neighbouring Spanish officials, which are translated and printed in the present volume. The latter will be found to corroborate Raleigh's account in all essential points, but also to add details which do not redound to his credit (particularly the severe reverse encountered at Cumana), and which for obvious reasons he suppresses in his own narrative. Having killed Rodrigo de la Hoz, Berrio's nephew, and a party of soldiers who had been sent from S. Josef to learn the intentions of the English, Raleigh and his men, with their Indian allies, set out at dawn on Friday, 8 April, to attack the town. Berrio, who had naturally received no information from his nephew, was taken by surprise, and could offer little resistance. He and Alvaro Jorge were taken prisoners, some twenty Spaniards were killed, and S. Josef was burned down.

¶ As Berrio sat that night in a cabin of Raleigh's flagship, and gazed maybe at the dim low-lying coast of Guiana, the land of promise, his thoughts may well be imagined. He could hardly complain at Raleigh's conduct, when he himself had boasted of having killed seven English traders in 1593, and also bore the responsibility for the murder of Whid-don's men; nevertheless he saw the work of nearly thirteen years in ruins. From the Andes to the Atlantic he had battled with disease and sudden death: for four years he had struggled against the obstruction of cunning rivals: and now at last when large succours were about to arrive from New Granada and Spain, this English pirate suddenly appeared and demanded to be told the way to El Dorado. Being men of the sixteenth century they treated each other with a mixture of mediaeval chivalry and hard-headed shrewdness. They behaved, as one writer has well put it, as a polished English gentleman and a polished Spanish hidalgo¹. Yet each eyed the other warily and worked for his discomfiture. Raleigh for his part seemed to have the whip hand. He had captured at sea a copy of the official version of Vera's tour of occupation which contained valuable information about Manoa; he had seized the all-important base at the mouth of the Orinoco; and he held prisoner the man who knew more about the enterprise than any other living. Could he extract further details from his captive, the undertaking would be comparatively straightforward. Berrio, on the other hand, was an expert who matched his

¹ W. Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Oxford, 1891), p. 113.

experience against his opponent's subtlety. His tactics were adopted to secure one of two ends: either Raleigh would be dissuaded from proceeding further by his account of the almost insuperable difficulties, or he would go on and be trapped in the Orinoco by Vera's expedition from Spain or by that of Fernando from New Granada. So for a month, while the English waited for the *Lion's Whelp* and the ships of Sir Amyas Preston, and busied themselves in building a fort, the old man poured out the long story of his adventures and disappointments. And Raleigh, like a skilful reporter, took careful note of all that he said. A comparison of Raleigh's narrative with Berrio's despatches shows that a large part of the geographical details of the former was derived from these conversations. At the same time, it is clear that when Berrio failed to shake the Englishman's determination by emphasising the difficulties, he began to feign ignorance and to evade the searching questions put to him. Raleigh expressed his sincere conviction when he stated that Berrio was utterly unlearned and did not know the east from the west. If the report of Pedro de Salazar be correct, Raleigh was finally reduced to taking Berrio and Alvaro Jorge ashore and threatening them with instant death if they did not impart further news of Guiana¹. How far he was successful is not recorded. The arduous journey of the hundred Englishmen up the Orinoco to the Caroni is told by Raleigh with characteristic grace and remarkable accuracy. But it is not a voyage of "discovery," and Raleigh has no claim to be an original explorer. The ground which he covered was thoroughly well known to Berrio's followers, who had traversed it month by month for the last two years².

¶ On returning to Trinidad, Raleigh decided to plunder the towns of the Spanish Main, as by his commission he was authorised to do, in order to secure some tangible profit for Sir Robert Cecil and the others who had invested money in the expedition. Afterwards in England he reported that he had successfully levied contributions at Cumana, Sta Martha, and Rio de la Hacha³. The exact reverse seems to have been the case as regards the first of these ports. Not only was he turned away from Margarita, but at Cumana he suffered a decisive defeat, where among others he lost his cousin Grenville and Captain Calfield, one of his most valued officers. According to Simon de Bolivar, Raleigh and his five

¹ See Appendix B, pp. 118-19, below.

² This point is discussed more fully below in § iii of this Introduction.

³ See Camden (London, 1706 ed.), p. 584: "In his way homeward he set fire to Cumana, because the Inhabitants would not ransom it at his price, and he did the same by several small Cottages at St Mary's and Rio de la Hach." (Cf. Raleigh's own statement, *Epistle Dedicatory*, p. 5, below.)

ships appeared before the port of Pampatar in Margarita at one o'clock in the morning of 16 June, but seeing the place strongly defended, passed on and anchored at Punta de Mosquitos. Here they landed Alvaro Jorge and three other prisoners to obtain a ransom of 1400 ducats for the liberation of Jorge and Berrio. The money was collected, but Pedro de Salazar, the Governor, maintained that the English had not fulfilled the necessary conditions and refused to allow it to be handed over. Two days later Raleigh sailed away, taking Berrio with him, and on 22 June dropped anchor at Cumana. The attempt to storm the city on the following morning is described in detail by Bolivar, Vides and other Spanish officials¹. Apparently the English, who attacked "with the fury of demons," carried all before them as far as the heights of Guana Quintera, but were then dislodged by a counter-attack, which drove them back to the ships with heavy loss. The figures given in the Spanish reports are greatly exaggerated. They all concur in putting the force which Raleigh sent ashore at two hundred and ten, whereas only one hundred left England in addition to the crews. Seventy-five are said to have been killed, consisting of forty-eight left dead on the field and twenty-seven wounded who subsequently died on board ship. Were this so, three-quarters of Raleigh's force would have been destroyed—a disaster so crushing that his enemies in England would not have failed to make mention of the fact. None the less, it is evident that on the whole the Spanish reports constitute a faithful record, and that Raleigh—as Francisco de Vides drily put it—"does not go away as pleased as he could wish." So ended his first visit to Guiana. When in 1617 he once more watched the Venezuela coast line slowly disappear, he was a ruined man, sailing home to meet the vengeance of Gondomar.

¶ Before the fleet weighed anchor, the ever unfortunate Berrio was sent ashore and so fell into the hands of his enemy Vides, "where he was little favoured and badly received." His one aim was to get back to Trinidad as quickly as possible and repair the damage before Vera returned from Spain. About 8 July he arrived at Margarita, where he hoped that the new Governor, Pedro de Salazar, would prove more helpful than his predecessor. There he collected ten men and shortly afterwards proceeded to Trinidad and to the ashes of what had recently been the little town of S. Josef². From thence he journeyed up the Orinoco to the port of Morequito, where he and his little band built a rough fort which was

¹ See App. B below.

² The Licentiate Pedro de Liaño to the King, 25 March 1596, translated and printed below, p. 123.

named S. Thomé. Some time later his heart was gladdened by the appearance of thirty soldiers sent by his son from New Granada. Thus by a bold stroke he had seized the point of vantage which commanded the Caroni basin and the entrance into the land of Manoa. When, therefore, Raleigh's lieutenant, Lawrence Keymis, sailed up the Orinoco in March 1596, he found the passage barred and was obliged to return without effecting anything. "We all," he reported to Raleigh on his return, "—not without grief to see ourselves thus defeated and our hungry hopes made void—were witnesses of this new remove¹."

¶ In the meantime, however, further misfortunes had befallen Berrio. As soon as he could spare the men he had despatched Phelipe de Santiago with twenty-eight soldiers to occupy Trinidad. This officer, who had been brought up as a boy in Berrio's house at Tunja and had given faithful service ever since, then elected to desert his chief and throw in his lot with Francisco de Vides at Cumana. Early in November 1595, he was accordingly sent from that city to colonise Trinidad in the name of his new commander, to capture Francis Sparrey and Hugh Goodwin whom Raleigh had left as hostages with Topiawari, and finally to drive Berrio out of S. Thomé. Continuing his journey from Trinidad without delay, he reached the province of Aromaia, where some of his men dressed themselves as Indians, and ambushed the unlucky Sparrey. The latter was subsequently carried back to Margarita, and after long imprisonment in Spain made his way to England². As to the boy, Goodwin, the Spaniards were told that he had been attacked and devoured by a jaguar, and they believed the story. But he was kept safely hidden by the Indians, and

¹ *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the year 1596 by Laurence Keymis, Gentl. London 1596.* Printed in Hakluyt, Vol. x, p. 452.

² An interesting notice of Sparrey during his imprisonment in Spain has survived. In a petition to Sir Robert Cecil one Captain Jo. Stanley, who had also been in prison there, wrote as follows: "The Lord knoweth that I have adventured my life to come to serve my Queen and country as I ought, as I shall be able, if trial be made, I being in prison with one Francis Spary, a man of Sir Walter Rawley's, who was left in Orinoco to discover what mines he could. He found sufficient which the Spaniard knoweth not. He gave me reason how & a map where to find it. I delivered it to Sir Walter at my coming up. He willed me to acquaint Your Lordship therewith, which I meant presently, if I had not been worse thought of than I deserve. My body is almost spent with imprisonments endured for Her Majesty and my country. God move your heart to think of me". (*Hist. MSS Comm.*, Marquis of Salisbury MSS (Hatfield papers), Part VIII, p. 358, 22 September 1598.) After Sparrey himself was released he published *The Description of the Isle of Trinidad, the rich Countrey of Guiana, and the Mightie River of Orenoco, written by Francis Sparrey left there by Sir Walter Raleigh, 1595, and in the end taken by the Spaniards and sent prisoner into Spaine, and after long captivitye got into England by great sute, 1602* (printed in *Purchas*, Maclehose edn, Vol. xvi, p. 301).

was found by Raleigh in 1617 at Caliana, having almost forgotten his mother tongue.

¶ Santiago then warned the Indians, who were eagerly awaiting Raleigh's promised return, that they must in future have dealings with none but Spaniards. That done, he marched his men up to S. Thomé and called upon Berrio to surrender to the authority of Vides. The scene which followed is dramatically told by Pedro Simon¹. When Berrio's men were about to open fire, he called out, "Santiago y a ellos," and the bullets were fired high into the air. Neither side could find it in their hearts to slay men who were their personal friends, some of whom had been comrades in the great journey from Tunja. No damage seems to have been done, though Berrio narrowly escaped death from a bullet fired by a soldier named Lorenzo del Hoyo². The upshot was that Santiago was obliged to leave his former chief in possession of S. Thomé, and sailed down to Trinidad, where in January 1596, he founded a new city on the southern side named Phelipe de Montes. In the following March Vides sent thither a large reinforcement of men and stores, thus depriving Berrio of his base and leaving him in isolation.

¶ When, therefore, Domingo de Vera at last arrived at Trinidad on 19 April (1596) with six fly-boats and 1500 men and women on board, he was just in time to save Berrio from disaster³. The tables were turned and the latter was master of the situation. Vera had indeed succeeded beyond his hopes. His ready tongue and nimble mind had swayed all those with whom he came in contact. As he stood in the plaza of Seville, clad in grotesquely ornamental costume, the populace applauded—"Este es el Indiano del Dorado y tierras ricas," and thrilled with excitement as he recounted in glowing words the marvels of Manoa. Men of all ranks volunteered for service. The city of Seville subscribed five ships and five thousand ducats, and twelve Observantin monks, ten secular priests and a canon of Seville prepared to minister to the spiritual needs

¹ *Primera Parte, Setima Noticia*, cap. xi, pp. 600-1.

² This is according to Simon, but Pedro de Liaño (see below, p. 123) states that two were killed on each side.

³ Hitherto the exact date of Vera's expedition has been in doubt. The accounts of the early Spanish historians are confused and sometimes self-contradictory, and later English writers are divided. Schomburgk (Raleigh's *Guiana*, pp. 41-2, note) correctly argues that he must have arrived in Trinidad in 1596, but E. Edwards (*Life of Raleigh*, p. 180) contradicts him and adopts the year 1595, thus making Vera arrive at the very time when Raleigh was anchored there and holding Berrio prisoner. Humboldt (*Personal Narrative*, Vol. iii, p. 51) seems to agree with the latter. The contemporary documents printed in App. B of the present volume, remove the question beyond doubt.

of the Manoan Empire. With the Government he adopted different tactics. As soon as Raleigh's expedition (which proved a godsend to Vera) became known, he wrote to the Council of the Indies, urging that unless Berrio's claim was confirmed and immediate assistance sent, the prize would slip out of their hands¹. It is evident from a letter addressed by the Council to the King, that they were greatly perturbed by Raleigh's intrusion, and therefore the more disposed to give Vera the aid which he sought. The King accordingly supplied seventy thousand ducats and gave permission for the despatch of six hundred bachelors and four hundred married men with their wives and children. So large a number was far in excess of those required, even had Manoa existed. And to transport a crowd of women and children into the middle of a country peopled by cannibal savages was little short of lunacy. Vera, indeed, seems either to have lost his head or to have been forced by the fervour which he had aroused into commitments which his better judgement condemned. The tragedy which followed is one of the most miserable episodes in the story of El Dorado.

¶ Having assumed control of Trinidad in Berrio's name, Vera began the arduous task of transplanting the people to S. Thomé. Carib attacks and hurricanes deprived them of all but three of their canoes, so that they were obliged to make the journey painfully on foot, the heaviest baggage being loaded into the remaining boats. A graphic and moving account is given by Pedro Simon of this strange crowd of adventurers with their women and little children toiling through an unknown and hostile land. At last S. Thomé was sighted, and Berrio (doubtless somewhat dismayed) came out and reviewed them, as they stood, "so comely," writes Simon, "that they seemed better suited for Seville by reason of the gorgeous banners which they bore, of which there were no less than twenty, and their rich and costly gala dresses which were more appropriate for weddings or royal festivals than for the conquest of so wretched a country²." As soon as the women and children were established in the fort, Berrio organised an expedition to follow the Caroni basin up to Manoa. Three hundred men were put under the command of the veteran Alvaro Jorge, now over sixty years of age, and sent southward into the interior. After covering thirty leagues Alvaro died, worn out; and straight-way discipline disappeared. Rape, murder, and robbery of the natives

¹ Printed below, pp. 125-6.

² *Primera Parte, Setima Noticia*, cap. XII, p. 605. Simon's detailed account (pp. 603-15) contains serious inaccuracies, but gives details of the suffering endured, which Vera omits from his own official report (printed below, pp. 108-13).

became the universal order, until the latter rose in fury and massacred over two hundred and fifty of their persecutors. Finally, in despair, Berrio sent the *Sargento Mayor* who conducted the cowed and broken remnant back to S. Thomé.

¶ In the meantime further contingents had been arriving from Trinidad, and at last in the autumn of 1596 came Vera himself. Evidently his dictatorial manner annoyed the already exasperated Berrio, for he returned in dudgeon to the island three days later. The spirit of lawlessness was now so widespread that all chance of conducting successful operations had gone. For eight months Berrio lived a miserable existence among his insubordinate followers. To add to their wretchedness, a plague of insects descended upon them, and the settlers, especially their womenfolk, began to lay all their troubles at the Governor's door and to plot his murder. Many deserted and at last Berrio in despair gave the remainder permission to leave the town. So in twenties and thirties they scrambled towards safety down the Orinoco, only to be drowned in its dangerous labyrinth of waters. Of those who had set out so bravely furnished from San Lucar very few saw Spain again. Berrio himself stayed at S. Thomé, where, shortly after the long-delayed arrival of his son Fernando in 1597, he died, surrounded by the wreckage of his hopes. So ended the career of one who had devoted seventeen years of continuous hardship and disappointment to the pursuit of a delusion.

¶ The subsequent efforts of Don Fernando, who obtained the Governorship of Guiana, need not detain us. After re-establishing S. Thomé, and founding a new settlement called Los Arias, eighteen leagues inland, he led an expedition from the latter place in December 1600, but met with no better success than his father had done¹. By that time the Spaniards were beginning to lose faith in Manoa². There was talk in 1610-11 of another effort to conquer Guiana, but Don Fernando was rightly considered to be too slothful and too interested in gathering large profits from contraband trade with the English to take any active steps³. Meanwhile, however, the example of Raleigh had not been entirely lost upon

¹ See Diego Suarez de Amaya to the King, 10 August 1602 (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36318, f. 131).

² Cf. same to same, 14 November 1600 (*ibid.* 36317, f. 368): "He (Fernando) hopes to discover this Dorado and gold mines, in search of which all his people are going, while those in these governments are watching the work, which will result in his disillusionment."

³ See "Royal warrants to governors and others in the West Indies to stop trade with the enemy, and to investigate charges against Fernando de Berrio, Governor of Trinidad" (*ibid.* 36319, ff. 210-25).

his countrymen. As already mentioned, Laurence Keymis's voyage in 1596 had been responsible for identifying the site of Manoa with the mythical lake Parima, near the source of the Rupununi, a branch of the Essequibo. While Keymis himself proceeded up the Orinoco, a pinnacle pursued an independent course along the Essequibo River, and the information collected from the natives of a vast lake convinced him, and subsequently Raleigh himself, that there lay the shortest route to Manoa. ¶ This identification by Raleigh and Keymis exerted a profound influence upon mapmakers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and aroused particularly keen interest in the Netherlands. As early as 1613 an abortive effort was made by some Dutch merchants to establish themselves on the Essequibo, and in 1621 the Dutch West India Company was incorporated which rapidly developed extensive trading connections with that region. During the same period other Dutchmen were trading with the Spaniards at S. Thomé. A native of Ghent, named Captain Mathias Matteson, who had been Pedro de Teixeira's pilot in his great voyage up the Amazon (1638), set out from S. Thomé in 1655 with sixty Spaniards and four hundred Indians in search of Manoa. Following the Caroni to its sources, they seem to have penetrated into the western part of the Parima savannah and to have reached the neighbourhood of the celebrated Mount Roraima¹. "And in the year 1661," writes Scott, "he being disengaged from the Spanish service, went to Dessekeebe (the Essequibo) . . . to the Dutch, and one Captain Gronweighen, Governor of that Colonie, gladly joyned with him, and they attempted a voyage to the place where he had been with the Spaniards." It is the opinion of Doctor Edmundson that on this occasion Matteson made his way considerably beyond the Pirara portage, probably to the Takutu, and possibly as far as the Rio Branco (Parima) itself. Raleigh's belief that El Dorado might be reached by going up the Rio Essequibo continued to flourish until the journey of the intrepid Dutchman, Nicolas Horstmann, in 1740 convinced the majority of Europeans of its non-existence. But the myth died hard among the Spaniards and Portuguese of South America. In 1722 certain friars sent a memorial to the King wherein they described the site and riches of El Dorado², and in 1730 the Vicar-Prefect of the Capuchin Missions of Venezuela reported convincing details of its whereabouts, and

¹ John Scott's *Description of the Great River of the Amazonas*. . . (Rawlinson MSS, A. No. 175, p. 10); cf. Dr G. Edmundson's comments (*English Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, 1903, p. 16).

² Fray Salvador de Cadiz and other friars to the King (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36331, f. 267).

urged the sending of an expedition to prove the accuracy of the story¹. Some forty years later the legend appears for the last time. In 1772 Nicholas Martenez, a Spanish lieutenant of artillery, was sent with a detachment to find and occupy El Dorado and Lake Parima. The Portuguese of Brazil regarded this step as an invasion of their territory and sent a counter-expedition up the Rio Branco to the Takutu. Nineteen Spaniards were captured, the rest driven off, and a fort constructed. The result was a furious correspondence between the Spanish Governor of Guiana and Portuguese Governor of Grão Pará, each claiming sovereignty over the territory concerned².

¶ Such is the tale of El Dorado. For two hundred and forty years, in different forms and in different places, this figment of the mind caught hold of Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, English and Dutch, and led them into unknown corners of the earth. From the ghastly adventure of Alfinger in 1530 to the expedition of the artillery lieutenant in 1772 the quest gave rise to heroic endurance, to murder, and in the end to bitter disillusionment. It is typical of the splendid folly of the human race that, as long as the dream survived, men were not wanting to follow their predecessors in the fatal trail. Viewed from the point of concrete achievement, the name of Walter Raleigh occupies a very humble place in the muster roll of El Dorado seekers; but in the scope of his aims and his influence he is by far the most important.

¹ *Ibid.* 36332, ff. 348 b-376 b.

² Spanish accounts in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 36341, Nos. 22, 23, 28, Portuguese accounts in Add. MSS, Brit. Mus. 37044, Nos. 1-10 (July to October, 1776).

§ iii. THE DISCOVERIE OF GUIANA

A STUDY of what may be termed the history of El Dorado shows that Raleigh has no claim to be regarded as an explorer. As already indicated, his so-called "Discovery" of Guiana merely consisted in traversing the Orinoco from its estuary to the cataract on the Caroni, a journey with which every Spanish soldier at Trinidad was perfectly familiar. We have also seen that, in fixing the site of Manoa near the source of the Caroni, Raleigh was simply adopting the theory which Berrio had laboriously constructed after ten years' arduous toil. Moreover a large part of the accurate geographical knowledge of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries which Raleigh displayed, and which Schomburgk has eulogised as "really wonderful¹," must again have been derived from Berrio, who was then one of the few Europeans who had ever visited those regions. The claim that he was the greatest of the would-be conquistadors must therefore rest on the quality of his aim and the extent of his influence. His Spanish predecessors in the quest had been valiant adventurers, but they had been solely intent upon plunder. Raleigh, on the other hand, undertook the search from the point of view of a statesman. If the monopoly of Spain was to be broken, she must be beaten on her own ground. In "yet unspoil'd Guiana" a heaven-sent opportunity seemed to offer itself. Assuming (as almost every Spaniard did) that it was inhabited by a civilised race and ruled by fugitive Incas, the obvious policy for England was to enter into possession, to gain the loyalty of the Guianians, and then with the aid of their vast numbers to drive the Spaniards from Peru. "The offers to be made unto the Guianians," he wrote, "and performed on our partes may be these. 1. First that we will defend them, their wives, children and countreys against the Spaniards and all other invaders. 2. Then that we will helpe them to recover their country from Peru. 3. That we will instructe them in liberall arts of civility behoofsfull for them that thei may be comparable to any Christian people. 4, and lastly that we will teach them the use of weapons....²" Waiving the fallacious assumption, the scheme was flawless. It would appeal to every aspect of public opinion—religious, commercial, and political. Heathen souls would be saved from Catholicism; the resulting trade would be enormous; and Spain would be quickly superseded by her rival as the first power in Europe. Raleigh was not indulging in conscious exaggeration, as

¹ Raleigh's *Guiana* (Hakluyt Society, 1848) p. 30, note ii.

² *Of the Voyage for Guiana* (printed as App. C below).

Schomburgk supposes, but was saying what he believed to be sober truth when he wrote: "After the first or second year I doubt not but to see in London a Contratation house of more receipt for *Guiana*, then there is nowe in Civil (Seville) for the West Indies." The only fallacy was that no such wealthy and civilised population existed, and that he was not to know. All the known evidence seemed to point the other way.

¶ The motive which induced Raleigh to undertake this ambitious project was the fact of his disgrace with the Queen. Ever since his secret marriage with Elizabeth Throgmorton in 1592, his outraged sovereign had banished him from her favour. As he was well aware, the surest way to capture Elizabeth's favour was to achieve some spectacular success. The El Dorado legend had been known to him for many years¹. What better than to present her with the key to a Guianian empire? The idea was no sooner conceived than its execution became for the time being the sole object of his existence. "There was," says Oldys, "not an expert soldier or seaman but he consulted, nor a printed nor manuscript discourse but he perused." After sending his old privateering servant, Captain Jacob Whiddon, on a voyage of reconnaissance in 1594, he himself set out in the following February, having sunk the bulk of his fortune in the venture. He returned a confirmed believer in Guiana as a country of amazing potentialities. Let England seize the prize at once, and her greatness was assured. Incidentally he himself would rival Cortez and Pizarro. But London and the Court were sceptical; the Queen was unmoved. He had never been to Guiana, said his enemies, but had skulked in Devon until the ships came home again; or alternatively, he had actually sailed, but the specimens of 'Guiana' gold had been bought on the Barbary Coast during the voyage out. Indignant at this hostile reception, he sat down in haste to compose the narrative which has become famous. Highly coloured though some of its passages are, it is a call to his countrymen which is passionate in its sincerity. "If it shall please her highnes to undertake (the enterprise), I shall most willingly end the rest of my daies in following the same²." The painstaking accuracy of the geographical details has been amply vouched for by the two great travellers Humboldt and Schomburgk; while the stories of Amazons and men with their heads in the middle of their chests, which Hume has stigmatised as the grossest and most palpable of lies, were merely repetitions of Indian folk-tales which persist to this day.

¹ See Raleigh's Dedication, below p. 4.

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

¶ The narrative was written in haste, and for that reason lacks something of the balanced rhythm of his more leisured writing. "I have neither studied phrase," says the author, "forme, nor fashion." The style is sometimes marred by sentences which are too long and involved, but the charm which characterises all Raleigh's writing is not absent. The impressions of men, of scenery, and of old legends, come hot and glowing from the author's mind. The portrait of Topiawari, for example, and the account of the smoky waterfalls of the Caroni are masterpieces of description. Its publication in 1596 attracted widespread attention, a second edition being required before the year was out. It was reprinted by Hakluyt, and afterwards by Birch in 1751, by Cayley in 1805, and in the Oxford edition (1829) of Raleigh's works. In 1848 Sir Robert Schomburgk edited the text for the Hakluyt Society. On the Continent it enjoyed an even greater popularity. An abridged Latin translation with some curious illustrations was published by the geographer Levinus Hulsius at Nuremberg in 1599, and another in the same year at Frankfurt in De Bry's collection of voyages. By 1602 three more German editions had appeared. It was translated into Dutch in 1598 and reprinted in 1605, 1617, 1707, 1727, and 1747. From the accounts of Raleigh and of his lieutenant Keymis, Jodocus Hondius constructed the map entitled "Nieuwe Caerte van het goudrycke landt Guiana. 1599." Finally a French translation of the *Discoverie* was included in Coreal's voyages (1722).

¶ The wonders of Guiana caught the fancy of the Elizabethans, who had not entirely lost their appetite for fresh marvels in the New World. A direct compliment was paid to the author by Shakespeare, when he made Othello refer to the strange tales of

"The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

Caliban, too, half-man, half-beast, is surely a representation of the primitive races spoken of by Raleigh. The grotesque monster bears no relation to the Red Indian of Virginia or the negro of the Guinea Coast. But great as the interest was, the Government very fortunately refused to entertain a project which, had it been adopted, would have added one more costly effort to the list of El Dorado tragedies. Nevertheless, the dream of a British Empire in Guiana coloured the remainder of Raleigh's life, and produced positive results of far-reaching importance. Having been denied official support, he devoted himself to further exploration in search of Manoa and to maintaining contact with the chieftains whose friendship he had so sedulously courted. Occupation of the country by means of an

anti-Spanish alliance with the inhabitants was always the core of his scheme. While the two hostages whom he had left behind, Francis Sparrey and Hugh Goodwin, were to collect information in the interior, an expedition under Laurence Keymis was sent out in January 1596, to locate the Inca capital from the seaboard. Raleigh had become convinced that the object of his search was much farther to the south than Berrio had supposed, and accordingly ordered Keymis to make for that region west of the Amazon delta and then work northward. As the result of his enquiries, Keymis concluded that the mythical lake, and the equally mythical city, must be situated about the head waters of the Essequibo and the Rupununi. Following up this clue, Raleigh despatched the pinnace *Watte* in the following December under Captain Leonard Berry. Careful exploration was made of the rivers Wiapoco, Marawine and Corentine, as being possible gateways to Manoa. From one who had been "brought up with Antonie Berreo" most encouraging information was obtained. "The river Desekebe," they were informed, "...doeth lead so farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes journey of the lake called Perima, wher upon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this river of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe up in the land: by means whereof wee make account to goe up into the countrey, and to have discovered a passage unto that citie¹." It is evident that the explorers were convinced of Raleigh's intention to return in order to make the final entry into Manoa himself, for they carefully avoided a collision with a powerful tribe of the Corentine, because it "would turne to our great hurt when Sir Walter Raleigh should come thither, having occasion to use this river...."

¶ The summer of 1597, which saw the return of Berry and his men, was spent by Raleigh himself on the "Islands Voyage." Upon his return he plunged into a veritable maze of activity. It was, indeed the zenith of his career before the fall. In addition to transacting a mass of private and public business, he was engaged until the execution of Essex (February 1601) in combating the hostility of his impetuous rival. From then until the Queen's death he fought a long losing battle of intrigue against Sir Robert Cecil and Lord Henry Howard for the favour of James Stuart. Well aware that everything depended upon success, he worked with feverish intensity. To use his own words, he was "mad with intricate affairs and want of means." Under such circumstances the Guiana project was left perforce in abeyance, but it was not forgotten. It was to be kept in reserve, ready for immediate execution when the necessary recognition and support should be available. The founder of a Guianian empire need have

¹ Hakluyt (Everyman Edition), Vol. viii, p. 9.

no fear of an Essex or a Howard, nor need the country which ruled it dread the power of Spain. Since the English Government refused assistance, Raleigh in 1598 invoked the aid of Sweden. In the summer of that year he entertained a diplomatic agent named James Hill, who was about to set out for the court of the Duke of Sudermania (afterwards Charles IX of Sweden), and charged him to convey his proposals thither. The scheme was favourably considered by that Prince, who asked for further details. "The Duke," reported Hill on 25 September to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, "will send 12 ships for Guyanya, and join with him in any other order. If Sir Walter will send his meaning unto me, I will inform his Excellency, and write him his Grace's answer. For vittual, men and ships will the Duke provide at Newlyes in the West seas...¹." Unfortunately no information concerning the subsequent negotiations has survived. Raleigh himself was preparing a strong expedition to accompany the Swedes. On 20 October John Chamberlain wrote a gossiping letter to his friend Carleton, telling him that Sir John Gilbert was preparing to go for Guiana with six or seven ships, and that Sir Walter was "so deeply discontented because he thrives no better, that he is not far of(f) from making that way himself²." Another letter written in November gave imposing details. Sir John Gilbert was preparing for the voyage with all speed. "His whole fleet will be thirteen vessels, whereof the most part shall be pinnaces, as it is said he intendeth to inhabit it with English people³." The news that Raleigh was fitting out such a powerful expedition for the occupation of Guiana quickly found its way to Spain and excited considerable perturbation. From the illuminating report of the Council of the Indies to Philip II dated 30 January 1599, which is now published for the first time⁴, it is clear that ever since 1595 the Spanish Government had been watching Raleigh's Guianian activities with grave anxiety. "If the enemy should people it, it would be extremely inconvenient; and to drive them out would entail heavy expense. Against the present menace all possible measures of defence have been resolved upon and put into execution." But the Council went further and suggested to the King (who agreed) that Trinidad should be strongly fortified, and that every effort should be made to follow up Berrio's investigations with

¹ *Hist. MSS Comm.*, Marquis of Salisbury MSS (Hatfield Papers), Part VIII, p. 363.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, 20 October 1598 (*Domestic Correspondence Elizabeth*, printed in *Letters written by John Chamberlain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Sarah Williams, Camden Society, 1861, p. 24).

³ R. Bayly to Colonel William Stanley (November 1598). Quoted by Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*, Vol. I, p. 199.

⁴ Translated and printed *in extenso* App. A, below.

regard to El Dorado. This document reveals that the Spaniards were keenly alive to the danger of an English occupation of Guiana. Furthermore it adds fresh point to the determination of Gondomar and his Government to secure Raleigh's execution in 1618. In 1598, however, their anxiety was needless. For some unknown reason nothing more is heard of either the Swedish co-operation or of Raleigh's own fleet.

¶ The statements that the majority of the ships were to be pinnaces, and that the intention was to found a colony, are suggestive. Evidently Raleigh had accepted the information of Keymis and Berry, and was bent upon finding Manoa by way of the rivers Essequibo and Corentine. For that purpose large vessels would be useless. On the other hand, if the rumour of a settlement in the country was well founded, it indicates that discovery of the Inca capital was actually a secondary consideration, and that the occupation of Guiana and the exploitation of its natural resources was the real objective. Other evidence lends support to this view. Throughout the *Discoverie* and the subsequent essay, *Of the Voyage for Guiana*, the emphasis is consistently laid upon the enormous commercial and strategic advantages of the country as a whole, and not upon the fabulous wealth of one city. He was himself a firm believer in El Dorado: as late as 1609, when he was imprisoned in the Tower and hard put to it for money, he invested £600 in Sir Thomas Roe's expedition for its discovery¹. But for Raleigh it was only a means to a greater end. Bitter experience in Virginia had taught him that colonisation as such was a slow business, which brought in no immediate profit and excited no enthusiasm. He himself had been attracted southward by the legend of the lost Incas, and he calculated that if their home, with its pomp and splendour, could be brought to light, the English Government and people would be similarly attracted. An English empire, the most persistent aim of his life, would be achieved.

¶ Time passed, and El Dorado still remained in the realm of fancy. As such it held no potency wherewith to lure his countrymen. Without a state-aided expedition its discovery was impossible: lacking such concrete proof a national movement was unattainable. Accordingly, from December 1598 until his trial and imprisonment in 1603, Raleigh could do nothing more than maintain a friendly intercourse with the Guianian chiefs and hope for more propitious circumstances. The fact of his conviction for high treason led him to revive the Guiana project in a form which eventually resulted in the tragic voyage of 1617. The details of that famous trial have been too often examined to need any repetition here. On the whole it seems probable that, while being thoroughly

¹ See J. A. Williamson, *The English in Guiana, 1604-1668* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 52, 54.

acquainted with Cobham's treasonable negotiations, he was not an active participant. His abundant faith in his own dexterity led him to believe that he could master the other plotters and then compel James to come to terms. In this way the machinations of Howard and Cecil would be nullified, and he would be secure¹. If this be the true explanation, he was morally guilty. At the same time the procedure adopted by his enemies to procure a conviction was a mockery of justice. In the words of a legal expert, the trial "was a tragedy for all concerned; it is a disgrace to English law²."

¶ All Raleigh's efforts to retain his footing upon the accession of James had therefore failed, and he was now faced with the prospect of life-imprisonment in the Tower. His only chance of liberty was to prove that his services were too valuable to be dispensed with. Such a demonstration was possible in one direction only—Guiana. The man James, he argued, would surely listen to his great scheme more readily than the aged Elizabeth. The one thing required was a sufficiently attractive bait. To ask for liberty in order to search for a hypothetical city would be waste of time; as a means of attraction El Dorado had proved a failure long ago. A more practical and more immediate proposition must be devised. Once the King was convinced, Guiana would be occupied. Then Raleigh would be free and famous, and England would be great. The essential flaw in the plan, of course, was that Raleigh had totally misunderstood the temperament of the King, who took no pleasure in the thought of aggressive territorial expansion. Exactly the same mistake had been made in April 1603 when Raleigh had hastened to present the newly-arrived monarch with a *Discourse touching a War with Spain*, wherein he brilliantly opposed a hasty peace and urged an offensive alliance with Holland. On this, as on many other occasions, Raleigh showed that he was a poor judge of character.

¶ The chosen bait was a rich gold-mine said to exist somewhere near the right bank of the Orinoco. Raleigh himself had always (and in point of fact correctly) maintained that the soil of Guiana was auriferous, but there is no evidence in the *Discoverie* or in any other of his writings prior to 1603 that he paid any serious attention to the stories of a rich gold deposit in any one place. In the Tower, however, Keymis reminded him of the mine which he himself had visited in 1596, swore that it was

¹ See Macvey Napier's excellent analysis (*Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 58-63).

² Sir Harry L. Stephen, "The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh" (Raleigh Tercentenary Commemoration Lecture, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, Vol. II, 1919, p. 185).

genuine and that furthermore he would stake his life on being able to find it again. This, together with the discovery of gold in some Guiana spar, was enough for Raleigh. Henceforth the mine became a mania with him, it was a mountain "covered with gold and silver ore." In other words, he was ready to risk his hopes of liberty, his life and his honour on the statement of a man whom he knew to be as rash and as credulous as he was honest. The action was characteristic. Again and again he reposed implicit confidence in men who were notoriously unworthy of it. He persisted in regarding Sir Robert Cecil as his intimate and trusted friend, although the latter spent several years in poisoning the mind of James against him. He was so indiscreet as to make it possible for weak unstable Cobham to put his life in jeopardy. And in the last miserable scene of 1618 he trusted, and was betrayed by, Sir Lewis Stukeley, a rogue devoid of shame or morals. From about 1607 until 1616 he addressed a series of petitions to the King, the Queen Consort, the Council, and to individual courtiers, urging that he should be allowed to make the attempt. He was willing to forfeit his estates and to be cast into the sea if he failed to keep his pledges. His wife was ready to stand hostage for him, and "shall yield herself to death, if I perform not my duty to the King." "I am contented to adventure all I have (but my reputacion) upon Keemishes memory." He made the venture, and lost.

¶ The theory, which has sometimes been put forward, that Raleigh deliberately fooled the King, not seriously believing in the mine, and had for his sole object the stirring up of a war with Spain, would seem to be untenable. It is true that he was ready to abandon the Guiana project and to purchase his liberty by some other enterprise, such as the capture of Genoa for Savoy. It is true again, as Dr Gardiner's researches have shown, that he was negotiating to sail into a French port upon his return. Nevertheless the fact remains that, whatever the form of the enterprise, everything turned upon his ability to "deliver the goods," the goods in question being a ship-load of gold ore. To go to Guiana in the knowledge that the essential condition of success was not existent would have been the act of a madman. His only chance was to return with a cargo so rich that James would be prepared to risk the anger of Spain rather than lose it and the territory from which it came. A moment's reflection would show him that if he returned empty-handed, he would inevitably be the scapegoat. As it was, the affair was a gamble which only one rendered desperate by twelve years' imprisonment would have undertaken. Although he was probably aware that James had supplied full details to the Spaniards who would therefore be prepared for his coming, he yet

sailed under contract to find the mine, work it, and return with the proceeds without trespassing. Indeed the gamble was more hazardous still: he was prepared to fight his way to the mine and take the risk that forgiveness would follow on success. It is now almost certain that Raleigh had a shrewd suspicion of the fact that the fort of S. Thomé on the Orinoco had been moved from the mouth of the Caroni to a spot thirty miles down-stream¹. If so, he knew that the mine could not be reached without first encountering the fort, and thus deceived his sovereign as his sovereign deceived him. The point is non-proven, but it is to be remembered that Raleigh took with him in 1617 the most powerful armament (save one) that had ever left England in time of peace. During the voyage out he scrupulously avoided hostilities, despite many provocations. But in the Orinoco he knew that trespass and collision were almost unavoidable, and he prepared accordingly. Trespass or no trespass, he was determined to get the gold upon which his life depended.

¶ The only respect, then, in which Raleigh did not play straight was in representing to the King that there was free access to the mine. In all else he was honest and consistent, though unwise. Convinced by his confidence in Keymis of the existence of the mine, he staked everything on being able to bring home a cargo of ore, which would buy his freedom and encourage James to take possession of Guiana, even at the cost of defying Spain. In the founding of such an empire he would be indispensable and would therefore be restored to his former glory; while England, committed to an offensive policy, would be on the highway to greatness.

¶ Such were his sanguine hopes: the miserable reality is well known. Keymis led a party up the Orinoco and drove out the garrison from the new S. Thomé, but declared himself unable to reach the mine by reason of Spanish opposition. On returning to Raleigh, who had been obliged to remain with the fleet, he shot himself in a fit of despair because his chief refused to condone his conduct. After many wrangles and desertions among the leaders, the expedition straggled home. Raleigh's doom was a foregone conclusion. Wanton injury had been inflicted upon a neighbouring power in time of peace, and James (who had done his best by betraying his subject to make that injury inevitable) was determined to

¹ J. A. Williamson (*ut supra*), pp. 75-6, points out that as Raleigh was one of the chief contributors to Sir Thomas Roe's expedition, he probably saw a letter written by Roe in February 1611, in which he distinctly states that a new S. Thomé was then in contemplation. I cannot, however, agree with Dr Williamson's conclusion that Raleigh's object was "simply to stir up war with Spain." War (however much he desired it) without gold spelt ruin.

sacrifice the adventurer in order to appease the anger of Spain. As the Council failed to make out a legal case for the existing issue, Raleigh was executed on 19 October 1618 on the old charge of complicity in the Cobham Plot. His death, nobly and heroically borne, invested him with the halo of a martyr for liberty, and brought more odium upon James than any other act of his reign. "Of a long time," said Raleigh on the scaffold, "my course was a course of vanity. I have been a seafaring man, a soldier and a courtier, and in the temptations of the least of these there is enough to overthrow a good mind, and a good man." That remark may be balanced by another, which was made by a man in the crowd. As the head fell, a voice cried out, "we have not such another head to be struck off."

¶ Viewed strictly from the point of view of English overseas expansion, the tragedy of 1617-18 was little more than an unimportant raid. The dream of Guiana, failure though it was, had already served its purpose. The prominence which Raleigh had given to that country from 1595 onwards did much to encourage extensive colonising enterprises, such as those of Charles Leigh, Robert Harcourt, and Sir Thomas Roe on the Amazon and along the Guiana seaboard¹. All in turn died out or were exterminated by European rivals, the last and most flourishing colony, Surinam, being lost to the Dutch in 1668. But the stream of settlers which Sir Walter had always longed to see, was not stopped; it was diverted to the West Indies and North America. The story of Raleigh in Guiana is as essentially a part of the history of British expansion as that of Raleigh in Virginia. In both cases he worked for the commercial and political aggrandisement of his country. One side of his mind was capable of accepting such phantasies as El Dorado; another side viewed the matter as a shrewd and far-seeing statesman. He is the link between the Elizabethan pioneer and the sober hewers of wood and drawers of water of the seventeenth century, who built where the others had led.

¹ See Williamson's account (*ut supra*). For contemporary documents see *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana*, ed. V. T. Harlow (Hakluyt Society, Series II, Vol. LVI); Harcourt's *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, ed. Sir C. A. Harris (*ibid.* Vol. LX).

THE
DISCOVERIE
OF THE LARGE
RICH, AND BEVVTFVL
EMPYRE OF G V I A N A, WITH
a relation of the great and Golden Citie
of Manoa (*which the Spanyards call El
Dorado*) And of the Prouinces of *Emeria,*
Ayromaia. Amapaia, and other Coun-
tries, with their riuers, ad-
ioyning.

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir
W. Raleigh Knight, Captaine of her
Maiesties Guard, Lo. Warden
of the Scanneries, and her High-
nesse Lieutenant generall
of the Countie of
Cornewall.



Imprinted at London by Robert Robinson.
1596.

TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE MY

singular good Lord and kinsman

Charles Howard, knight of the Gar-

ter, Barron, and Counciller, and of the Ad-

miralls of England the most renown-

ed: And to the Right Honorable

S^r Robert Cecyll Knight, Councel-

ler in her Highnes priuie

Councils.

FOR your Honors many Honorable and friendlie partes, I haue hitherto only returned promises; and nowe for answere of both your aduentures, I haue sent you a bundle of papers which I haue deuided betwene your Lo. and S^r Robert Cecyll in these two respectes chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastful factors, when they haue consumed such stockes, as they had in trust, doe yeeld some cullor for the same in their account, secondly for that I am assured that whatsoever shalbe done, or written by me, shall neede a double protection and defence. The trial that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume that you wil be pleased (knowing what little power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forwarned enimies) to answere that out of knowledge, which others shall but obiect out of malice. In my more happie times as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loues sought me out in the darkest shadow of aduersitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my manie miseries: all which though I cannot requite, yet I shal euer acknowledge: and the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can doe no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded verie grieuous effects, and if ought might haue been deserued in former times to haue counterpoysed any part of offences, the frute thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, Vndertake these trauels, fitter for boies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie,

and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby if it were possible I might recouer but the moderation of excesse, and the least tast of the greatest plentie formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might haue regained, if I coulde conceiue what farther meanes I might yet vse, but euen to appease so powerefull displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeare more to holde fast my soule in my teeth, til it were performed. Of that little remaine I had, I haue wasted in effect al herein, I haue vndergone many constructions, I haue been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sicknes, and peril: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other brauado of going to sea, then was ment, and that I was neither hidden in Cornwell or else where, as was supposed. They haue grosly belied me, that foreiudged that I wolde rather become a seruant to the Spanish king, the return, and the rest were much mistaken, who woulde haue perswaded, that I was too easeful and sensuall to vndertake a iorney of so great trauel. But, if what I haue done receiue the gracious construction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest, many miseries: But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in an eternall distast, I doe not then knowe whether I should bewaile my selfe either for my too much trauel and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserue nothing. From my selfe I haue deserued no thanks, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honor, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picorie, and it had sorted ill with the offices of Honor, which by her maiesties grace, I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinarie prizes. Many yeares since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana, and of that great and Golden Citie, which the spanyards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and enlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pazaro and others conquered the saide Empire, from his two elder brethren Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being fauoured by the Oreiones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caximalca. I sent my seruant Iacob Whiddon the yeer before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker sometime my seruant, and now attending on your Lo. that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, or Guanipa: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off, then they supposed, and manie other impediments to them vnknowne and unheard. After I had displanted Don Anthonio de Berreo, who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at Trinedado, at the port called Curiapan, I wandred 400 miles, into the said

country by land and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following discourse. The country hath more quantity of Gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the Indies, or Peru: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maiesties vassals: and seeme to desire nothing more then her Maiesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another grounde and assurance of riches and glory, then the voiages of the west Indies, and an easier way to inuade the best parts therof, then by the common course. The king of Spaine is not so impouerished by taking 3 or 4 port townes in America as we suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueua Espania so left by the sea side, as it can be easily washt away, with a great flood, or springtide, or left drie vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The port townes are few and poore in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are onely rich when the fleets are to receiue the treasure for spaine: And we might thinke the spaniards verie simple hauing so manie horses and slaues, that if they coule not vpon two daies warning, carrie all the Golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our footmen especiallie the Indies being (as it is for the most part) so mountainous, so full of woods, riuers, and marishes. In the port townes of the prouince of Vensuello, as Cumana, Coro, and S. Iago (whereof Coro and S. Iago were taken by Captaine Preston¹ and Cumana and S. Iosephus by vs²) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of Barquasimeta, Valentia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Alleguna, Marecabo, and Truxillo, are not so easely inuaded: neither doth the burning of those on the coast impouerish the king of spayne anie one ducket, and if we sacke the riuer of Hache³, S. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the portes of Nueuo reyno and Popayan. There are besides within the land which are indeed rich and populous, the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christofero, the great Cities of Pampelone, S. Fede Bogota, Tunia and Mozo where the Esmeralds are founde, the townes and Cities of Morequito, velis, la villa de Leua, Palma, vnda, Angustura, the greate Citie of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Iuago, the great city of Popaian it selfe, Los

¹ Santiago de León de Caracas was captured by the forces of Sir Amyas Preston and George Somers in June 1595, after approaching it by means of a secret and extremely dangerous path which was shown to them by a guide. Failing to extort the required ransom from the inhabitants, they set the town on fire and retired to their ships without suffering any losses. The Spanish version (translated and printed, App. B, p. 124 below) should be compared with the English narrative, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Vol. III, p. 578.

² S. Iosephus is S. Josef de Oruña, the town which was founded by Antonio de Berrio in Trinidad (1592). Raleigh's statement with regard to Cumana is directly contradicted by the Spanish reports, which all declare that the English were driven off with heavy loss. (See App. B below.)

³ The town of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios on the Rio de la Hacha, which was burnt down by Sir Francis Drake on 1 December 1595.

Remedios, and the rest. *If we take the ports and villages within the bay of Vraba in the kingdome or riuers of Dariena, and Caribana, the cities and townes of S. Iuan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Anteocho, Carramanta, Cali, and Anserma haue golde enough to pay the Kinge part, and are not easily inuaded by the way of the Ocean or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the prouince of Castillo de oro, and the villages vpon the riuers of Cenu and Chagre. Peru hath besides those and besides the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima so many Ilands, portes, Cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seeme incredible to the reader: of all which because I haue written a particular treatise of the west Indies¹, I will omit their repetition at this time, seing that in the saide treatise I haue anatomized the rest of the sea townes as well of Nicaragua, Iucata, Nueua Espanna, and the Ilands, as those of the Inland, and by what meanes they may be best inuaded, as farre as any meane Iudgement can comprehend. But I hope it shall appeare that there is a way found to answere euerie mans longing, a better Indies for her maiestie then the King of Spain hath any, which if it shall please her highnes to vndertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my daies in following the same: If it be left to the spoyle and sackage of common persons, if the loue and seruice of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mightie an Empyre refused, I hope her Maiestie will yet take my humble desire and my labour therein in gracious part, which if it had not beene in respect of her highnes future honor and riches, I could haue laid hands and ransomed many of the kings and Cassiqui of the Country, and haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption: But I haue chosen rather to beare the burthen of pouerty, then reproch, and rather to endure a second trauel and the chaunces therof, then to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, vntill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royall heart either to follow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath onely power in al things, and do humblie pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part, the following discourse, in which I haue neither studied phrase, forme, nor fashion, and that you will be pleased to esteeme me as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to doe you all honour and seruice.*

W: R.

¹ This, like others of his writings, was never printed, and has been lost.

To the Reader

BECAUSE there haue been diuers opinions conceiued of the golde oare brought from *Guiana*, and for that an Alderman of London and an officer of her maiesties minte, hath giuen out that the same is of no price, I haue thought good by the addition of these lines to giue aunswere as well to the said malicious slaunder, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the Iland of *Trinidado*, I was informed by an Indian, that not farre from the Port, where we anchored, there were founde certaine minerall stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seen both English and French men gather, and imbarque some quantities therof: vppon this liklyhoode I sent 40 men and gaue order that each one should bring a stone of that myne, to make triall of the goodnesse, which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was *Marcasite*, and of no riches or value: Notwithstanding diuers trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the saide *Marcasite*, and haue tried thereof, since my returne, in diuers places. In *Guiana* it selfe I neuer sawe *Marcasite*, but all the rocks, mountaines, all stones in the plaines, in woodes, and by the riuers sides are in effect thorow shining, and appeare marueylous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcasite*, are the trew signes of rich mineralles, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the Spanyards terme them) which is the mother of golde, or as it is saide by others the scum of gold: of diuers sortes of these manie of my companie brought also into England, euerie one taking the fayrest for the best, which is not generall. For mine owne partte, I did not countermand any mans desire, or opinion, and I could haue aforded them little if I shoulde haue denied them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein: But I was resolued that golde must be found either in graines separate from the stone (as it is in most of al the riuers in *Guiana*) or else in a kinde of hard stone, which we call the white Sparre, of which I saw diuers hils, and in sundrie places, but had neither tyme, nor men, nor instruments fitte to labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I founde of the saide white Sparre or flint a very great ledge, or banke, which I endeouored to breake by al the meanes I coulde, because there appeared on the out side some small graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the same vppon the vpper part, seeking the sides and circuite of the sayd rock, I founde a clift in the same, from whence with daggers, and with the heade of an ax, we gotte out some small quantitie

thereof, of which kinde of white stone (wherein golde is engendred) we sawe diuers hils and rocks in euerie part of *Guiana*, wherein we trauelled. Of this there hath been made manie trialls, and in London, it was first assaide by Master *Westwood* a refiner dwelling in wood-street, and it helde after the rate of 12000 or 13000 pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by Master *Bulmar* and Master *Dimoke* assay master, and it held after the rate of 23000 pounds a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by Master *Palmer* comptroller of the minte, and Master *Dimoke* in golde smiths hall, and it helde after 26900 pounds a tunne. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons a triall made of the dust of the said myne which held 8 pound 6 ounces weight of gold, in the hundred: there was likewise at the same time a triall made of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which helde a third part gold, besides diuers trialls made in the countrey, and by others in London. But because there came of ill with the good, and belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lyeth. It hath also been concluded by diuers, that if there had been anie such oare in *Guiana*, and the same discovered, that I woulde haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bound to satisfie anie man of the quantitie, but such onely as aduentured, if any store had been returned thereof: but it is verie true that had all their mountaynes beene of massie gold, it was impossible for vs to haue made anie longer staye to haue wrought the same: and who-soeuer hath seene with what strength of stone, the best golde oare is inuironned, hee will not thinke it easie to be had out in heaps, and especially by vs who had neither men, instrumentes, nor time (as it is saide before) to performe the same: There were on this discoverie, no lesse than 100 persones, who can all witnesse, that when we past any braunch of the riuer to vewe the land within, and staid from our boats but six houres, we were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to forde it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither bote nor man could finde place, either to land, or to imbarque: for in Iune, Iuly, August, and September, it is impossible to nauigate any of those riuers, for such is the furie of the *Current*, and there are so many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if anie boate but touch vppon anie tree or stake, it is impossible to saue any one person therein: and ere we departed the land, it ran with that swiftnesse, as we draue downe most commonly against the winde, little lesse than one hundred miles a day: Besides our vessels were no other than wherries,

one little barge, a small cockboate, and a bad Galiota, which wee framed in hast for that purpose at *Trinidado*, and those little boates had nyne or ten men apeece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400 miles from our shippes, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakely mande in an open roade, and had promised our return in 15 dayes. Others haue deuised that the same oare was had from Barbery, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: surely the singularitie of that deuce, I do not well comprehend, for mine owne parte, I am not so much in loue with these long voiajes, as to deuise, thereby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subiected to perils, to diseases, to ill sauours, to be parched and withered, and withall to sustaine the care and labour of such an enterprize, excepte the same had more comfort, then the fetching of *Marcasite* in *Guiana*, or bying of gold oare in Barbery. But I hope the better sort will iudge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit, is not the way of honor or good opinion: I haue herein consumed much time, and many crowns, and I had no other respecte or desire then to serue her maiesty and my Country thereby. If the spanishe nation had beene of like beleefe to these detractors, we should litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now consider of the actions both of *Charles* the fifte, who had the Maydenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant treasures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now liuing, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the actes of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, garrisons, and nauies, he hath and doth maintaine, the greate losses which he hath repayred, as in 88 aboue 100 sayle of greate shippes with their artillery, and that no yere is lesse vnfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are deuoured, and yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwracke to vs all, we shall finde that these abilities rise not from the trades of sackes, and Ciuil Orenge, nor from ought else that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other prouinces produce: It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keepe vs from forraigne enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades, eyther by offer of inuasion, or by besieging vs in Britayne, Ireland, or else where, he hath then brought the worke of our perill in greate forwardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure haue greate aduantages ouer the rest, if they once constraine them to a defensiu warre, where they are driuen once

a yeare or oftner to cast lots for their own garments, and from such shal al trades, and entercourse, be taken away, to the general losse and impouerishment of the kingdom, and common weale so reduced: besides when men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same hope as when they are prest and incouraged by the desire of spoyle and riches. Farther it is to be doubted how those that in time of victorie seeme to affect their neighbour nations, will remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or ill successe; to trust also to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull and vncertaine aduenture, seeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoeuer kingdome shalbe inforced to defend it selfe, may be compared to a body daungerouslie diseased, which for a season may be preserued with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolued. I haue therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power, and perswasion, to aduance al those attempts, that might eyther promise return of profit to our selues, or at last be a lett and impeachment to the quiet course, and plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake iudgement by such a warre were as easily indaungered and brought from his powerfulnes, as any prince in Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdomes and nations his reuenewes are gathered, and those so weake in their owne beings, and so farre seuered from mutuall succor. But because such a preparation and resolution is not be hoped for in hast, and that the time which our enemies embrace, can not be had againe to aduantage, I will hope that these prouinces, and that Empyre now by me discouered shall suffice to inable her Maiesty, and the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of Spayne hath in all the Indies, east and west, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Maiesty will vndertake it, I wilbe contented to lose her highnes fauour and good opinion for euer, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equall whatsoeuer is in this discourse promised or declared. I will nowe referre the reader to the following discourse with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labors and indeuours of such as thereby seeke the profit and honor of her Maiesty, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue such construction, and good acceptance, as them selues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

THE DISCOVERIE OF GVIANA.

N Thursday the 6 of Februarie in the yeare 1595, we departed *England*, and the sunday following had sight of the North cape of *Spayne*, the winde for the most part continuing prosperous; wee passed in sight of the *Burlings* and the rocke¹, and so onwarde for the *Canaries*, and fell with *Fuerte ventura* the 17 of the same moneth, where we spent two or three daies, and relieued our companies with some fresh meate. From thence wee coasted by the *Gran Canaria*, and so to *Tenerife*, and staid there for the Lyons whelp your Lordships ship, and for Captaine *Amys Preston* and the rest; but when after 7 or 8 daies we found them not, wee departed and directed our course for *Trinidad* with mine owne shippe, and a small barke of Captaine *Crosses* onely (for we had before lost sight of a small Gallego on the coast of *Spayne*, which came with vs from *Plymmouth*): wee arriued at *Trinidad* the 22 of March, casting ancour at Point *Curiapan*, which the Spanyards call *Punto de Gallo*², which is situate in 8 degrees or there abouts³: we abode there 4 or 5 daies, and in all that time we came not to the speach of anie Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for feare of the Spaniards, none durst come to speake with vs. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the iland, while the ships kept the chanell. From *Curiapan* after a fewe daies we turned vp Northeast to recouer that place which the Spaniards cal *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, and the inhabitants *Conquerabia*⁴, and as before (reuictualing my barge) I left the shippes and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitants, and also to vnderstand the riuers, watring places and portes of the iland which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your lordship after a few daies. From *Curiapan* I came to a port and seat of Indians

¹ Cape Roca, or the Rock of Lisbon.

² Now known as Icos Point, being the south-western extremity of Trinidad.

³ Actually 10° 2' 30" north latitude. All Raleigh's reckonings on this expedition are two degrees too far to the south.

⁴ Port of Spain, now the capital of Trinidad.

called *Parico*, where we found a fresh-water riuer, but sawe no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniardes *Tierra de Brea*. In the way betweene both were diuers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt riuer that had store of oisters vpon the branches of the trees¹, and were very salt and wel tasted. Al their oisters grow vpon those boughs and spraiies, and not on the ground: the like is commonlie seene in the West Indies and else where. This tree is described by *Andrewe Theuet* in his French *Antartique*, and the forme figured in his booke as a plante verye straunge, and by *Plinie* in his XII. booke of his naturall historie. But in this ilande, as also in *Guiana*, there are verie manie of them.

¶ At this point called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche* there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and wee made triall of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sunne as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for ships trading the south partes very profitable. From thence we went to the mountaine foote called *Annaperima*, and so passing the riuer *Carone* on which the Spanish Citie was seated, we met with our ships at *Puerto de los Hispanioles* or *Conquerabia*.

¶ This iland of *Trinidad* hath the forme of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow; the north part is very mounteynous, the soile is very excellent and wil beare sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deare, wyld porks, fruits, fish and fowle. It hath also for bread sufficient *Mais*, *Cassau*, and of those roots and fruits which are common euery where in the West Indies. It hath diuers beasts, which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the riuers, but they hauing a purpose to enter *Guiana* (the *Magazin* of all rich mettels) cared not to spend time in the search therof any farther. This iland is called by the people therof *Cairi*, and in it are diuers nations: those about *Parico* are called *Iaio*; those at *Punto Carao* are of the *Arwacas*, and betweene *Carao* and *Curiapan* they are called *Saluaio*s; between *Carao* and *Punto Galera* are the *Nepoio*s, and those about the Spanish Citie tearme themselues *Carinepagotos*. Of the rest of the nations and of other portes and riuers I leaue to speake heere, beeing impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the iland, three partes whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better discribe it.

¹ The mangrove oyster, which attaches itself to the branches of trees (principally the mangrove) at high water, and is left hanging when the tide falls.

¶ Meeting with the ships at *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, we found at the landing place a company of Spanyardes who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace I sent Captaine *Whiddon* to speake with them, whome afterward to my great grieve I left buried in the said iland after my returne from *Guiana*, beeing a man most honest and valiant. The Spanyards semed to be desirous to trade with vs, and to enter into tearms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength then for ought else, and in the end vpon pledge, some of them came aboard: the same euening there stale also aboard vs in a small *Canoa* two Indians, the one of them being a *Casique* or Lord of people called *Cantyman*, who had the yeare before beene with Captaine *Whiddon*, and was of his acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* wee vnderstood what strength the Spaniardes had, how farre it was to their Citie, and of *Don Anthonio de Berreo*¹ the gouernour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

¶ While we remained at *Puerto de los Hispanioles* some Spaniardes came aboard vs to buy lynnens of the company, and such other thinges as they wanted, and also to view our shippes and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner²: by means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers hauing beene many yeares without wine, a fewe draughtes made them merry, in which moode they vaunted of *Guiana* and of the riches therof, and all what they knew of the waies and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those english, which I had planted in *Virginia*, whereof the brute was come among them, which I had performed in my returne if extremity of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

¶ I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be reuenged of *Berreo*, who the yeare before betraied 8 of Captaine *Whiddons* men, and toke them while he departed from them to seeke the *E. Bonauenture*, which arriued at *Trinidad* the day before from the *East Indies*: in whose absence *Berreo* sent a *Canoa* aboard the pinnace onely with *Indians* and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the wods to kil a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine

¹ The career of Berrio and his three journeys in search of El Dorado are described by himself and by his Camp Master, Domingo de Vera, in the despatches translated and printed in App. A below.

² Raleigh's account of his doings in Trinidad should be compared with the reports of the Spanish officials of Margarita, who received information from spies whom they sent to Trinidad to watch the English. (App. B below.)

followed the *Indians*, but were no sooner one harquebush shot from the shore, but *Berreos* souldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had giuen his worde to Captaine *Whiddon* that they should take water and wood safelie: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the *Spaniards* I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the riuers and passages, and of the enterprize of *Berreos*, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

¶ While we thus spent the time I was assured by another *Casique* of the north side of the iland, that *Berreos* had sent to *Marguerita* and to *Cumana* for souldiers, meaning to have giuen me a *Cassado* at parting, if it had bin possible. For although he had giuen order through all the iland that no *Indian* should come aborde to trade with me vpon paine of hanging and quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the same which I afterwards founde) yet euery night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty, how he had deuided the iland and giuen to euery soldier a part, that he made the ancient *Casiqui* which were Lordes of the country to be their slaues, that he kept them in chains, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the same, there were 5 of the Lords or litle kings (which they cal *Casiqui* in the west Indies) in one chaine almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their own language *Acarewana*, and now of late since English, French, and Spanish are come among them, they cal themselues *Capitaynes*, because they perceiue that the chieftest of euery ship is called by that name. Those fiue *Capitaynes* in the chaine were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Aterima*. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter *Guiana* by small boats, to depart 400 or 500 miles from my ships, and to leaue a garison in my backe interested in the same enterprize, who also daily expected supplies out of Spaine, I should haue sauoured very much of the Asse: and therefore taking a time of most aduantage, I set vpon the *Corp du guard* in the euening, and hauing put them to the sword, sente Captaine *Calfeild* onwards with 60 soldiers, and my self followed with 40 more and so toke their new city which they called *S. Ioseph*¹, by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a few shot, and al being dismissed but onely *Berreos* and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the *Indians* I set their new city of *S. Iosephs* on fire.

¶ The same day arriued Captaine *George Gifford* with your Lordships ship, and Captaine *Keymis* whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the

¹ The town of S. Josef de Oruña, founded by Berrio in 1592.

Gallego, and in them diuers Gent. and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

¶ We then hastened away towards our purposed discouery, and first I called all the Captaines of the iland together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were some which *Berreio* had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and wast those that were natural of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderstand that I was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great *Casique* of the north, and a virgin, and had more *Casiqui* vnder her then there were trees in their iland: that she was an enemy to the *Castellani*¹ in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and hauing freed all the coast of the northern world from their seruitude had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the countrey of *Guiana* from their inuasion and conquest. I shewed them her maiesties picture which they so admired and honored, as it had beene easie to haue brought them idolatrous thereof.

¶ The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to *Guiana*, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her maiesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great princessse or greatest commaunder. This done wee left *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, and returned to *Curiapan*, and hauing *Berreio* my prisonour I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knewe.

¶ This *Berreio* is a gent. well descended, and had long serued the Spanish king in *Millain*, *Naples*, the lowe Countries and else where, very valiant and liberall, and a Gent. of great assurednes, and of a great heart: I vsed him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had².

¶ I sent Captaine *Whiddon* the yeare before to get what knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the end of my iorney at this time was to discouer and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the country is situate aboue 600 English miles further from the sea, then I was made beleue it had beene, which afterward vnderstanding to be true by *Berreio*, I kept it from the knowledge of my companie, who else woulde neuer haue beene brought to attempt the same: of which 600 miles I

¹ On this point Schomburgk remarks: "Among the Indian tribes of the Upper Orinoco and its northern tributaries, the Ventuari, Padamo, etc. the descendants of the Spaniards are still called Castilanos."

² This statement is corroborated by one of the Spanish reports.

passed 400¹ leauing my shippes so farre from me at ancor in the sea, which was more of desire to performe that discouery, then of reason, especially hauing such poore and weake vessels to transport our selues in; for in the bottom of an old *Gallego* which I caused to be fashioned like a Galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship bote of the Lyons whelpe, we caried 100 persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driuen to lie in the raine and wether, in the open aire, in the burning sunne, and vpon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to carry al manner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestred and vnsauery, that what with victuals being most fish, with the weete clothes of so many men thrust together and the heate of the sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any prison in England, that coulde be founde more vnsauory and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeares before beene dieted and cared for in a sort farre differing.

¶ If Captaine *Preston* had not beene perswaded that he should haue come too late to *Trinidad* to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tarry for him there ere he could recouer the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God he might haue ioyned with vs², and that wee had entred the countrey but some ten daies sooner ere the riuers were ouerflowen, we had aduentured either to haue gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at least taken so many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: But it pleased not God so much to fauour me at this time: if it shalbe my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall performe more then euer was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro*, whereof the one conquered the Empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guascar*, and *Atabalipa*³, and whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, that Prince shalbe Lorde of more gold, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then eyther the king of Spayne, or the great Turke.

¹ The mouth of the River Caroni, the farthest point reached by Raleigh, is only 125 miles from Trinidad as the crow flies. Taking into account the numerous windings of the lower Orinoco, Schomburgk computes that the total distance which Raleigh travelled could not have been more than 250 miles.

² It is possible that (Sir) Amyas Preston with his four ships deliberately avoided co-operation with Raleigh. The two were not usually on good terms. In 1589 they were in dispute concerning the distribution of prize goods (see Introd. p. xxii above), and in the summer of 1602 Preston challenged Raleigh to a duel. The challenge, which may have arisen out of the Essex feud, was refused, and the duel did not take place. (See Stebbing, *Life of Raleigh*, Oxford, 1891, p. 166.)

³ Pacaro = Francisco Pizarro, Mutezuma = Montezuma, Guascar = Huascar, and Atabalipa = Atahualpa.

¶ But because there may arise many doubtēs, and how this Empire of *Guiana* is become so populous, and adorned with so manie greate Cities, Townes, Temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the Emperour now rainging is discended from those magnificent Princes of *Peru* of whose large territories, of whose pollicies, conquests, edifices, and riches *Pedro de Cieza*¹, *Francisco Lopez*², and others haue written large discourses: for when *Francisco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro* and others conquered the said Empire of *Peru*, and had put to death *Atabalipa* sonne to *Guaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly caused his eldest brother *Guascar* to be slaine, one of the younger sonnes of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and tooke with him many thousandes of those souldiers of the Empyre called *Oreiones*, and with those and many others which followed him, he vanquished al that tract and valley of *America* which is situate betweene the great riuers of *Amazones* and *Baraquona*, otherwise called *Orenoke* and *Maranion*.

¶ The Empyre of *Guiana* is directly east from *Peru* towards the sea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of Golde then any part of *Peru*, and as many or more great Cities then euer *Peru* had when it florished most: it is gouerned by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people obserue the same religion, and the same forme and pollicies in gouernment as was vsed in *Peru*, not differing in any part: and as I haue beene assured by such of the *Spanyardes* as haue seene *Manoa* the emperiall Citie of *Guiana*, which the *Spanyardes* cal *el Dorado*, that for the greatnes, for the riches, and for the excellent seate, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation: it is founded vpon a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long like vnto *mare caspiū*³. And if we compare it to that of *Peru*, and but reade the report of *Francisco Lopez* and others, it wil seeme more then credible, and because we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120 chapter of *Lopez* in his generall historie of the *Indies*, wherein he discribeth the court and magnificence of *Guaynacapa*, auncestor to the Emperour of *Guiana*, whose very words are these. *Todo*

¹ Pedro de Cieza de León, author of the *Cronica del Peru* (Seville, 1553, and Antwerp, 1554). Sir Clements Markham translated and edited Part I for the Hakluyt Society in 1864, Part II in 1883, and Books i, ii, and iii of Part IV in 1923, 1917, 1913, respectively.

² Francisco Lopez de Gomara, author of the *Cronica de Indias* and a *Historia de la Conquista de Nueva-España* (Seville 1552-3).

³ See copy of Raleigh's map (frontispiece above). This is the famous lake, belief in the existence of which continued until the travels of Humboldt and Schomburgk in the nineteenth century proved its mythical character.

*el seruicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamanon de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, yarboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Españoles se lo tomauan, y embriauan a España. That is, All the vessels of his home, table, and kitchin were of gold and siluer, and the meanest of siluer and copper for strength and hardnes of the mettall. He had in his wardroppe hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beastes, birdes, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. Hee had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and siluer, heapes of billets of golde that seemed woode, marked out to burne. Finally there was nothing in his countrey, whereof hee had not the counterfeat in gold: Yea and they say, The *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an iland neere *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselues, when they would take the ayre of the sea, which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers and trees of Gold and Siluer, an inuention, and magnificence til then neuer seene: Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of siluer and gold vnwrought in *Cuzco* which was lost by the death of *Guascar*, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spayne.*

¶ And in the 117 chapter *Francisco Picarro* caused the Golde and Siluer of *Atabalipa* to bee weyed, after hee had taken it, which *Lopez* setteth downe in these wordes following.

¶ *Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro*, which is: They founde fiftie and two thousand markes of good siluer, and one million, and three hundred twentie and sixe thousand and fiue hundred pesoes of golde.

¶ Nowe although these reportes may seeme straunge, yet if wee consider the many millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into Spaine, wee may easely beleeeue the same, for wee finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey, the Spanish King vexeth all the Princes of Europe, and is become in a fewe yeares from a poore king of *Castile* the greatest monarke

of this part of the worlde, and likelie euery day to increase, if other Princes forsloe the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this Empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now indaunger vs, hee will then be vnresistable. Such of the Spaniards as afterwarde endeououred the conquest thereof (whereof there haue beene many as shall bee declared heereafter) thought that this *Inga* (of whome this Emperor now liuing is descended) tooke his way by the riuer of *Amazones*, by that braunch which is called *Papamene*, for by that way followed *Oreliano*¹ (by the commaundement of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the yeare 1542) whose name the riuer also beareth this day, which is also by others called *Maragnon*, althogh *Andrew Theuet* doth affirm that between *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are 120 leagues: but sure it is that those riuers haue one head and beginning, and that *Maragnon* which *Theuet* describeth is but a braunch of *Amazones* or *Oreliano*, of which I wil speake more in an other place. It was also attempted by *Diego Ordace*, but whether before *Oreliano* or after I knowe not: but it is now little lesse than 70 yeares since that *Ordace* a knight of the order of *Saint Iago* attempted the same: and it was in the yeare 1542 that *Oreliano* discouered the riuer of *Amazones*; but the first that euer sawe *Manoa* was *Iohannes Martines* master of the munition to *Ordace*. At a porte called *Morequito* in *Guiana*² there lyeth at this daie a great ancor of *Ordaces* shippe, and this port is some 300 miles within the lande, vpon the greate riuer of *Orenoque*.

¶ I rested at this port fowre daies: twentie daies after I left the shippes at *Curiapan*. The relation of this *Martynes* (who was the first that discouered *Manoa*) his successe and end is to be seene in the Chauncery of *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, whereof *Berreio* had a coppie³, which appeared to be the greatest incouragement as well to *Berreio* as to others that formerly attempted the discouery and conquest. *Oreliano* after he failed of the discouerie of *Guiana* by the said riuer of *Amazones*, passed into Spaine, and there obtained a patent of the king for the inuasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Ilands, and his fleet beeing seuered by tempest,

¹ Raleigh's account of the journeys of Orellana, Ordaz, Pedro de Ursua, and others in search of El Dorado (being written for the most part from memory) contains many geographical and chronological inaccuracies. The reader is referred to the detailed account in the Introd. § ii, above.

² The Cacique Morequito ruled the Province of Aromaia (see Raleigh's map). The port in question would therefore be on the right bank of the Orinoco some ten or fifteen miles below the mouth of the Caroni. It was near (but not necessarily the actual site of) the present San Miguel.

³ The story of the supposed entry of Johannes Martynes (Juan Martin de Albuja) into Manoa is considered in the Introd. pp. lxxi-lxxii above.

the action for that time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the enterprize, and departed Spaine with 600 soldiers and 30 horse, who arriuing on the coast of *Guiana* was slaine in a muteny with the most part of such as fauoured him, as also of the rebellious part, in so much as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly knowen what became of the said *Ordace*, vntill *Berreio* found the ancor of his ship in the riuer of *Orenoque*; but it was supposed, and so it is written by *Lopez* that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diuersly conceiued and reported. And heereof it came that *Martynes* entred so farre within the lande and arriued at that Citie of *Inga* the Emperor, for it chaunced that while *Ordace* with his armie rested at the port of *Morequito* (who was either the first or second that attempted *Guiana*), by some negligence, the whol store of powder prouided for the seruice was set on fire, and *Martines* hauing the chief charge was condemned by the generall *Ordace* to be executed forthwith: *Martines* being much fauored by the soldiers had al the meane possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other sort then this: That he shuld be set into a *Canoa* alone without any victual, onely with his armes, and so turnd loose into the great riuer: but it pleased God that the *Canoa* was carried downe the streame, and that certain of the *Guianians* met it the same euening, and hauing not at any time sene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried *Martynes* into the land to be wondred at, and so from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great Citie of *Manoa*, the seate and residence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren *Guascar* and *Atabalipa* were vanquished by the Spaniards in *Peru*) and caused him to be lodged in his pallace, and well entertained: hee liued 7 moneths in *Manoa*, but not suffered to wander into the countrey any where: hee was also brought thither all the waie blindfold, led by the Indians, vntill he came to the entrance of *Manoa* it selfe, and was 14 or 15 daies in the passage: he auowed at his death that he entred the City at *Noon*, and then they vncouered his face, and that he trauelled al that daie til night thorow the Citie, and the next day from sun rising to sun setting, ere he came to the pallace of *Inga*. After that *Martynes* had liued 7 moneths in *Manoa*, and began to vnderstand the language of the country, *Inga* asked him whether he desired to returne into his own countrey, or would willingly abide with him: but *Martynes* not desirous to stay, obtained the fauour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he sent diuers *Guianians* to conduct him to the riuer of *Orenoque* all loden with as much gold as they could carrie, which he gaue to *Martines* at his departure: but when he was arriued neere the

riuers side, the borderers which are called *Orenoqueponi* robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the treasure (the borderers beeing at that time at warres with *Inga*, and not conquered) saue onely of two great bottels of gords, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those *Orenoqueponi* thought had ben no other thing then his drink or meate or grain for foode with which *Martynes* had libertie to passe, and so in *Canoas* he fell down by the riuier of *Orenoque* to *Trinidado*, and from thence to *Marguerita*, and so to *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, where remaining a long tyme for passage into *Spayne* he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receauing the *Sacrament* at the handes of his Confessor, he deliuered these thinges, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his *Calabaza* or gords of the gold beades which he gaue to the Church and friers to be praied for. This *Martynes* was he that christned the citie of *Manoa*, by the name of *El Dorado*, and as *Berreio* informed me vpon this occasion. Those *Guianians* and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I haue seen are marueylous great drunkardes, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemne feasts when the Emperor carowseth with his Captayns, tributories, and gouernours, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies annoynted al ouer with a kinde of white *Balsamum* (by them called *Curcai*) of which there is great plenty and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most pretious, wherof we haue had good experience: when they are annointed all ouer, certaine seruants of the Emperor hauing prepared gold made into fine powder blow it thorow hollow canes vpon their naked bodies, vntill they be al shining from the foote to the head, and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds and continue in drunkenness somtimes sixe or seuen daies together: the same is also confirmed by a letter written into *Spaine* which was intercepted, which master *Robert Dudley* told me he had seen¹. Vpon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the citie, the Images of gold in their Temples, the plates, armors, and shields of gold which they vse in the wars, he called it *El Dorado*. After *Oreliano* who was employed by *Pacaro* afterwards

¹ Sir Robert Dudley arrived at Trinidad on 1 February 1595, that is to say, five days before Raleigh's expedition left England. (See account in Hakluyt, Maclehose edition, Vol. x, p. 203; also the edition of Dr G. F. Warner, Hakluyt Society, Series II, No. 3, 1899). He came to the conclusion that Berrio's garrison in S. Josef was too poor and too strongly situated to be worth attacking. A small party, which was sent up the Orinoco to collect information about El Dorado, returned with the usual stories of gold mines and of people who powdered their bodies with gold dust. Dudley left Trinidad on 12 March, ten days before Raleigh's arrival.

Marques Pacaro conqueror and gouernor of *Peru*, and the death of *Ordace* and *Martynes*, one *Pedro de Osua*, a knight of *Nauarre* attempted *Guiana*, taking his way from *Peru*, and built his brigandines vpon a riuier called *Oia*, which riseth to the southward of *Quito*, and is very great: this riuier falleth into *Amazones*, by which *Osua* with his companies descended, and came out of that Prouince which is called *Mutylones*: and it seemeth to me that this Empire is reserued for her Maiestie and the *English* nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other *Spaniards* found in attempting the same, wherof I will speake brieflie, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This *Pedro de Osua* had among his troupes a *Biscayn* called *Agiri*, a man meanlie borne, and bare no other office than a Surgeant or *Alferez*: but after certaine months, when the soldiers were grieved with trauels and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of *Amazones*, this *Agiri* raised a muteny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so preuailed as he put *Osua* to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement with a purpose not onely to make himselfe Emperor of *Guiana*, but also of *Peru*, and of al that side of the *West Indies*: he had of his partie seuen hundred soldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captains and companies to deliuer vp towns and forts in *Peru*, but neither finding by the saide riuier any passage into *Guiana*, nor any possibilitie to returne towards *Peru* by the same *Amazones*, by reason that the descent of the riuier made so great a currant, he was inforced to desemboque at the mouth of the said *Amazones*, which cannot be lesse than a thousand leagues from the place where they imbarqued: from thence he coasted the land till he arriued at *Marguerita* to the North of *Mompatar*, which is at this daie called *Puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there slue *Don Iuan de villa Andreda*, gouernor of *Marguerita*, who was father to *Don Iuan Sermiento* gouernor of *Marguerita* when Sir *Iohn Burgh* landed there, and attempted the *Iland*¹. *Agiri* put to the sword all others in the *Iland* that refused to be of his partie, and tooke with him certaine *Cemerones*,

¹ Raleigh afterwards mentioned this incident in the *History of the World*—"Sir *John Borrowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grasse fired behind him; but the smoake being timefully discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of sixteene of his men." (Book iv, § xvi, p. 165.) On 16 November 1593, the Spanish authorities at *Margarita* wrote a full account of the raid to the King, in which they reported the death of the Governor, *Don Juan Sarmiento de Villandrando* and requested that his son (of the same name) should be appointed as Governor in his stead. (*Archivo General de Indias*, transcript in Add. MSS, 36316, f. 54 et seqq.) On this point, as on many others, Raleigh's accuracy is thus vindicated.

and other desperate companions: From thence he went to *Cumana*, and there slew the *Gouernor*, and dealt in all as at *Marguerita*: he spoiled all the coast of *Caracas*, and the prouince of *Vensuello*, and of *Rio de hache*, and as I remember it was the same yeer that Sir *Iohn Hawkins* sailed to Saint *Iuan de Lua* in the *Iesus of Lubeck*, for himselfe told me that he met with such a one vpon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the riuer of *Amazones*. *Agiri* from hence landed about *Sancta Marta*, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to inuade *Nueuo reyno de Granada*, and to sack *Pampelone*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tunia*, and the rest of the cities of *Nueuo reyno*, and from thence againe to enter *Peru*: but in a fight in the said *Nueuo reyno* he was ouerthrowne, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children, foretelling them that they should not liue to be defamed or opbraid by the *Spaniards* after his death, who would haue tearmed them the children of a *Traytor* or *Tyrant*, and that sithence he could not make them Princes, he woulde yet deliuer them from shame and reproch: These were the ends and tragedies of *Oreliano*, *Ordace*, *Osua*, *Martynes*, and *Agiri*.

¶ After these followed *Ieronimo Ortal de Saragosa* with 130 soldiers, who failing his entrance by sea was cast with the currant on the coast of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Miguell de Neueri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de sylua*¹ a *Portugues* of the familie of *Rigomes de sylua*, and by the fauour which *Rigomes* had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the mark, for being departed from *Spaine* with his fleete, he entred by *Maragnon* or *Amazones*, where by the nations of the riuer, and by the *Amazones* he was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himselfe and all his armie defeated, onely seuen escaped, and of those but two returned.

¶ After him came *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, and landed at *Cumana* in the *West Indies*, taking his iourney by land towards *Orenoque*, which may bee some 120 leagues; but ere he came to the borders of the said riuer, he was set vpon by a nation of Indians called *Wikiri*, and ouerthrowen in sort, that of 300 soldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and *Negros*, there returned but 18: others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of *Guiana*, at the first ciuill towne of the Empire called *Macureguarai*. Captaine *Preston* in taking *S. Iago de Leon* (which was by him and his

¹ An account of this disaster is preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla*, "Report by Diego Uchoa de la Vega of the voyage and journey of Pedro Maraver (or Malaver) de Silva from Spain to New Estremadura or El Dorado, beginning July, 1576," dated Ysla de Santo Domingo, 30 December 1576 (transcript in Add. MSS, 36314, f. 189 et seqq.). Cf. P. Simon, *Primera Parte, Setima Noticia Historiale de las Conquistas de Tierra firme*" cap. iv, pp. 576-7.

companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner who died in his ship, that was one of the companie of *Hernandez de Serpa*, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the *Spaniards* thereabouts of the great riches of *Guiana*, and *El Dorado* the citie of *Inga*. Another *Spaniard* was brought aboard me by captaine *Preston*, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with *Berreos* Campmaster at *Caracas*, when he came from the borders of *Guiana*, and that he saw with him fortie of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with golde, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he carried to the *Spanish* king¹.

¶ After *Hernandez de Serpa* it was vndertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada*², who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of *Nueuo reyno*, whose daughter³ and heire *Don Anthonio de Berreo* married: *Gonzales* sought the passage also by the riuer called *Papamene*, which riseth by *Quito* in *Peru*, and runneth southeast 100 leagues, and then falleth into *Amazones*, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost: I tooke one captaine *George* a *Spaniard* that followed *Gonzales* in this enterprise. *Gonzales* gaue his daughter to *Berreo* taking his oth and honor to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since as he hath sworne to me hath spent 300000 ducates in the same, and yet neuer could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, bote-keepers, boies, and of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed vndertakers, nor *Berreo* himselfe discover the country, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called *Carapana* he got the true light thereof: for *Berreo* came aboue 1500 miles, ere he vnderstood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part

¹ This was Domingo de Vera, who, having taken formal possession of Guiana on Berrio's behalf, proceeded to Caracas, where he waited for some months before setting out on his mission to the Spanish court (cf. Berrio's report, below pp. 106-8). The objects of gold and "divers rarities" which he exhibited in Seville aroused widespread excitement.

² Being unacquainted with the *Second* part of Pedro Simon's *Noticias*, which was not published until 1882-92 (ed. Medardo Rivas, Bogota), Schomburgk assumed that Raleigh had confused the Adelantado, Don Gonzalo, with his brother Hernan Perez. But the account of Simon and Berrio's own despatches (*q.v.*) show that Gonzalo himself took up the search for El Dorado during the years immediately preceding his death. Raleigh's statement is therefore correct.

³ Doña Maria, Berrio's wife, was Don Gonzalo's niece, being the daughter of his sister and Colonel Hernando de Oruña. (See Berrio's own statement, App. A, below, p. 91).

thereof, yet he had experience of all these forenamed, and diuers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. *Berreio* sought it by the riuer *Cassanar*, which falleth into a great riuer called *Pato*, *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is also called *Orenoque*.

¶ He tooke his iourney¹ from *Nueuo reyno de Granada* where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of *Gonzales Cemenes* in those parts: he was followed with 700 horse, he draue with him 1000 head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and slaues. How all these riuers crosse and encounter, how the countrie lieth and is bordred, the passage of *Cemenes*, and of *Berreio*, mine owne discouerie, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and riuers, your Lordship shall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your Lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your own hands²; for by a draught thereof all may bee preuented by other nations. For I know it is this very yeere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also told me ere I departed England, that *Villiers* the Admirall was in preparation for the planting of *Amazones*, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voiajes, and returned much gold and other rarities. I spake with a captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in *Falmouth*, the same yeere that my ships came first from *Virginia*.

¶ There was another this yeere in *Helford* that also came from thence, and had been 14 moneths at an ancor in *Amazones*, which were both very rich. Although as I am perswaded, *Guiana* cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of *Amazones*, and so it doth on euery hand farre from the countrey it selfe, for those Indians of *Trenedado* haue plates of gold from

¹ Raleigh is here describing the third, and greatest, journey of Berrio, which has hitherto been only known to us from Raleigh's account.

² The map which is reproduced as the frontispiece to the present volume, and which was purchased in a sale for the British Museum in 1849, may be the actual chart here mentioned. More probably it is one of several copies which were made for Raleigh's friends and supporters. Such a one was given to Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, and was preserved by the family until March 1927, when it was sold at Sotheby's. From the fact that the Essequibo, Marawine, Corentine and other rivers, which were explored by Keymis in 1596, are indicated, it seems likely that the present map was drawn by Thomas Hariot. On 11 July 1596, he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil—"I have been framing of a Charte out of some such of Sir Walter's notes and writings which he hath left behind him,—his principall Charte being carried with him,—if it may please you, I do thinke most fit that the discovery of Captain Kemish be added, in his due place, before I finish it..." (Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*, Vol. II, p. 420.) It is significant that the Caroni, which was regarded as the key to El Dorado, is the only important river not mentioned by name.

Guiana, and those *Canibals* of *Dominica* which dwell in the Ilands by which our ships passe yeerly to the *West Indies*, also the Indians of *Paria*, those Indians called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from *Paria* thorow the Prouince of *Vensuello*, and in *Maracapan*, and the *Canibals* of *Guanipa*, the Indians called *Assawai*, *Coaca*, *Aiai*, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) haue plates of gold of *Guiana*. And vpon the riuier of *Amazones* Theuet writeth that the people weare *Croissants* of gold, for of that form the *Guianians* most commonly make them: So as from *Dominica* to *Amazones* which is aboue 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in al parts weare of those plates of *Guiana*. Vndoubtedly those that trade [with the] *Amazones* returne much gold, which (as is aforesaid) commeth by trade from *Guiana*, by some branch of a riuier that falleth from the countrey into *Amazones*, and either it is by the riuier which passeth by the nations called *Tisnados*, or by *Carepuna*. I made inquirie amongst the most ancient and best traueled of the *Orenoqueponi*, and I had knowledge of all the riuers between *Orenoque* and *Amazones*, and was very desirous to vnderstand the truth of those warlike women, bicause of some it is beleued, of others not: And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe what hath been deliuered me for truth of those women, and I spake with a *Casique* or Lord of people that told me he had been in the riuier, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the riuier in the Prouinces of *Topago*, and their chiefest strengths and retraicts are in the Ilands scituate on the south side of the entrance, some 60 leagues within the mouth of the said riuier. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Asia*: In *Africa* those that had *Medusa* for *Queene*: others in *Scithia* neere the riuers of *Tanais* and *Thermadon*: we find also that *Lampedo* and *Marthesia* were *Queens* of the *Amazones*: in many histories they are verified to haue been, and in diuers ages and Prouinces: But they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompanie with men but once in a yeere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation to be in Aprill. At that time all the Kings of the borders assemble, and the *Queenes* of the *Amazones*, and after the *Queens* haue chosen, the rest cast lots for their *Valentines*. This one moneth, they feast, daunce, and drinke of their wines in abundance, and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne Prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a sonne, they returne him to the father, if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it, and as many as haue daughters send vnto the begetters a Present, all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kinde, but that the cut of the right

dug of the brest I do not finde to be true. It was farther told me, that if in the wars they tooke any prisoners that they vsed to accompany with those also at what time soeuer, but in the end for certaine they put them to death: for they are said to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories. These *Amazones* haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spaniards call *Piedras Hijadas*, and we vse for spleene stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them: of these I saw diuers in *Guiana*, and commonly euery king or *Casique* hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare, and they esteeme them as great iewels.

¶ But to returne to the enterprise of *Berreio*, who (as I haue said) departed from *Nueuo reyno* with 700 horse, besides the prouisions aboue rehearsed; he descended by the riuier called *Cassanar*, which riseth in *Nueuo reyno* out of the mountaines by the citie of *Tunia*, from which mountaine also springeth *Pato*, both which fall into the great riuier of *Meta*, and *Meta* riseth from a mountaine ioining to *Pampelone* in the same *Nueuo reyno de Granada*: these as also *Guaiares*, which issueth out of the mountains by *Timana*, fall all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his heads, for at their comming together they lose their names, and *Baraquan* farther down is also rebaptized by the name of *Orenoque*. On the other side of the citie and hils of *Timana* riseth *rio grande*, which falleth into the sea by *Sancta Marta*. By *Cassanar* first, and so into *Meta*, *Berreio* passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the cuntry serued them for to march, and where otherwise he was driuen to embarque them in botes which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the currant down the riuier of *Meta*, and so into *Baraquan*. After he entred that great and mightie riuier, he began dailie to loose of his companies both men and horse, for it is in many places violentlie swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and diuers Ilands sharpe pointed with rocks: But after one whole yeere, iourneying for the most part by riuier, and the rest by land, he grew dailie to fewer numbers, for both by sicknes, and by encountring with the people of those regions, through which he trauelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by diuers incounters with the *Amapaiens*: And in all this time he neuer could learne of any passage into *Guiana*, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to the farther border of the said *Amapaia*, eight daies iourney from the riuier *Caroli*, which was the farthest riuier that we entred. Among those of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous, but few of these people accosted *Berreio*, or woulde trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This *Amapaia* is also maruellous rich in gold (as both *Berreio* confessed,

and those of *Guiana* with whom I had most conference) and is situate vpon *Orenoke* also. In this countrey *Berre* lost 60 of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former yeeres trauell: but in the end after diuers encounters with those nations they grew to peace, and they presented *Berre* with 10 Images of fine gold among diuers other plates and *Croissants*, which as he sware to me and diuers other gentlemen were so curiouslie wrought, as he had not seene the like either in *Italy*, *Spaine*, or the *Lowe Cuntries*: and he was resolved that when they came to the hands of the *Spanish* king, to whom he had sent them by his Campmaster, they would appeer very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no Iron instrument at all, nor anie of those helps which our goldsmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in *Amapaia* which gaue him these peeces are called *Anebas*, and the riuer of *Orenoque* at that place is aboue 12 *English* miles brode¹, which may be from his out fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

¶ This Prouince of *Amapaia* is a verie low and a marish ground neere the riuer, and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorow the fenny and boggie ground, there breed diuers poysonfull wormes and serpents, and the Spaniards not suspecting, nor in anie sort foreknowing the danger were infected with a greeuous kind of flux by drinking therof, and euen the very horses poisoned therewith: In so much as at the end of the six months that they abode there, of all there troupes, there were not left aboue 120 soldiers, and neither horse nor cattle. For *Berre* hoped to haue found *Guiana* by 1000 miles neerer than it fell out to be in the end, by means wherof they susteined much want and much hunger, oppressed with greeuous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in *Guiana* that had trauelled *Amapaia* how they liued with that tawnie or red water when they trauelled thither, and they told me that after the *Sun* was neere the middle of the skie, they vsed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the *Sun* it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of diuers other riuers of that nature among them which were also (while the *Sun* was in the *Meridian*) verie safe to drink, and in the morning, euening, and night, woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this Prouince *Berre* hasted away as soone as the *Spring* and beginning of *Summer* appeered, and sought his entrance on the borders of *Orenoque* on the south side, but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountaines, as he was not able by any means to march ouer them, continuing from the east sea into which *Orenoque* falleth,

¹ Actually not more than between two and three miles.

euen to *Quito* in *Peru*: neither had he means to carrie victuall or munition ouer those craggie, high, and fast hils, being all wooddy, and those so thicke and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: he had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them, and more, to his disaduantage, the *Casiqui* and kings of *Amapaia* had giuen knowledge of his purpose to the *Guianians*, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the Empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold: he passed by the mouths of many great riuers, which fell into *Orenoque* both from the north and south, which I forbear to name for tediousnes, and bicause they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

¶ *Berreio* affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into *Orenoque* from the north and south, whereof the lest was as big as *Rio grande*, that passeth between *Popayan* and *Nueuo reyno de granada* (*Rio grande* being esteemed one of the renowned riuers in al the west Indies, and numbred among the great riuers of the world:) But he knew not the names of any of these, but *Caroli* only, neither from what nations they descended, neither to what Prouinces they led, for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in these things, being vtterlie vnlearned, and not knowing the east from the west. But of al these I got som knowledge, and of manie more, partly by mine own trauel, and the rest by conference: of som one I lerned one, of others the rest, hauing with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of *Guiana* naturally. I sought out al the aged men, and such as were greatest trauelers, and by the one and the other I came to vnderstand the situations, the riuers, the kingdoms from the east sea to the borders of *Peru*, and from *Orenoque* southward as far as *Amazones* or *Maragnon*, and the regions of *Maria Tamball*, and of all the kings of Prouinces and captains of townes and villages, how they stood in tearms of peace or war, and which were friends or enimies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor els where: For by the dissention betweene *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, *Paçaro* conquered *Peru*, and by the hatred that the *Traxcallians* bare to *Mutezuma*, *Cortez* was victorious ouer *Mexico*, without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprize, and of the great honor and riches, which they attained vnto.

¶ Now *Berreio* began to grow into despaire, and looked for no other successe than his predecessors in this enterprize, vntill such time as he arriued at the Province of *Emeria* towards the east sea and mouth of the

riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauorable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called *Carapana*, a man very wise, subtill, and of great experience, being little lesse than 100 yeeres old: In his youth he was sent by his father into the Iland of *Trinidad*, by reason of ciuill warre among themselues, and was bred at a village, in that Iland, called *Parico*: at that place in his youth he had seene many Christians both French and Spanish, and went diuers times with the Indians of *Trinidad* to *Marguerita* and *Cumana* in the west Indies, (for both those places haue euer been releued with victuall from *Trinidad*) by reason whereof he grew of more vnderstanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his country with those of the Christians, and euer after temporized so, as whosoeuer els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, *Carapana* kept himselfe and his country in quiet and plentie: he also held peace with *Caribas* or *Canibals* his neighbors, and had free trade with all nations whosoeuer els had war.

¶ *Berre* sojourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of *Carapana* six weeks, and from him learnd the way and passage to *Guiana*, and the riches and magnificence thereof: but being then vtterly disable to proceed, he determined to trie his fortune another yeere, when he had renewed his prouisions, and regathered more force, which he hoped for as wel out of Spain, as from *Nueuo reyno*, where he had left his son *Don Anthonio Xemenes* to second him vpon the first notice giuen of his entrance, and so for the present embarqued himselfe in *Canoas*, and by the branches of *Orenoque* arriued at *Trinidad*, hauing from *Carapana* sufficient Pilots to conduct him. From *Trinidad* he coasted *Paria*, and so recouered *Marguerita*: and hauing made relation to *Don Iuan Sermiento* the gouernour of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of *Guiana*, he obtained from thence 50 soldiers, promising presentlie to returne to *Carapana*, and so into *Guiana*. But *Berre* meant nothing lesse at that time, for he wanted manie prouisions necessarie for such an enterprize, and therfore departing from *Marguerita* seated himselfe in *Trinidad*, and from thence sent his Campmaster, and his Sargeant maior back to the borders to discover the neerest passage, into the Empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to drawe them to his partie and loue, without which, he knew he could neither passe safelie, nor in anie sort be releued with victuall or ought els. *Carapana* directed this companie to a king called *Morequito*, assuring them that no man could deliuer so much of *Guiana* as *Morequito* could, and that his dwelling was but fiew daies iourney from *Macureguarai*, the first ciuill towne of *Guiana*.

¶ Now your Lordship shall vnderstand that this *Morequito*, one of the greatest Lords or Kings of the borders of *Guiana*, had two or three yeeres before beene at *Cumana*, and at *Marguerita* in the west Indies, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dailie feasted, and presented by the gouernors of those places, and held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one *Vides* gouernor of *Cumana* wan him to be his conductor into *Guiana*, being allured by those *Croissants* and Images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of *El Dorado*: whereupon *Vides* sent into Spaine for a Patent to discouer and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the precedence of *Berreos* patent, which as *Berreos* affirmeth was signed before that of *Vides*: so as when *Vides* vnderstood of *Berreos*, and that he had made entrance into that territorie, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verilie thought that *Vides* practised with *Morequito* to hinder and disturbe *Berreos* in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his *Seignory*, nor anie of his companies, neither to victuall, nor guide them in anie sort; for *Vides* gouernor of *Cumana*, and *Berreos* were become mortall enimes, as well for that *Berreos* had gotten *Trinidad* into his Patent with *Guiana*, as also in that he was by *Berreos* preuented in the iourney of *Guiana* it selfe: howsoever it was I know not, but *Morequito* for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spaniards, and a Frier (which *Berreos* had sent to discouer *Manoa*) to trauell through his countrey, gaue them a guide for *Macureguarai* the first towne of ciuill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to *Manoa* the great citie of *Inga*: and being furnished with those things, which they had learned of *Carapana*, were of most price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleuen daies arrived at *Manoa*, as *Berreos* affirmeth for certain¹: although I could not be assured therof by the Lord which now gouerneth the Prouince of *Morequito*, for he told me that they got all the gold they had, in other townes on this side *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

¶ When these ten Spaniards were returned, and readie to put out of the border of *Arromaia*, the people of *Morequito* set vpon them, and slew them all but one that swam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of 40000. pesoes of golde, and as it is written in the storie of *Iob*, one

¹ Although Raleigh's account of Berrio's relations with Francisco de Vides and his other activities in respect of El Dorado is strikingly corroborated by Berrio's despatches, it is to be noted that the latter therein made no such claim that his followers had actually discovered Manoa.

onellie liued to bring the newes to *Berreio*, that both his nine soldiers and holie father were benighted in the saide Prouince. I my selfe spake with the Captaines of *Morequito* that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. *Berreio* intraged heerewithall sent all the strength he could make into *Arromaia*, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey: but *Morequito* suspecting the same fled ouer *Orenoque*, and thorow the territories of the *Saima*, and *Wikiri*, recouered *Cumana*, where he thought himselfe very safe with *Vides* the gouernor: But *Berreio* sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one *Fashardo* on the sudden ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conueied away, *Vides* durst not deny him, as well to auoide the suspition of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. *Morequito* offred *Fashardo* the weight of three quintals in gold, to let him escape, but the poore *Guianian* betraid of all sides was deliuered to the Campmaster of *Berreio*, and was presently executed¹.

¶ After the death of this *Morequito*, the soldiers of *Berreio* spoiled his territorie, and tooke diuers prisoners, among others they tooke the vnckle of *Morequito* called *Topiawari*, who is now king of *Arromaia*, (whose sonne I brought with me into *England*) and is a man of great vnderstanding and pollicie: he is aboue 100 yeeres old, and yet of a very able bodie: the *Spaniards* led him in a chain 17 daies, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey and *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana* aforesaid, and was at last redeemed for 100 plates of gold, and diuers stones called *Piedras Hijadas*, or *Spleen* stones. Now *Berreio* for executing of *Morequito* and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in *Arromaia* hath lost the loue of the *Orenoqueponi*, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to *Carapana*, which he calleth the port of *Guiana*: but from thence by the helpe of *Carapana* he had trade farther into the countrey, and alwaies appointed 10 *Spaniards* to reside in *Carapanas* towne²; by whose fauor and by being

¹ Berrio himself does not mention this story of Morequito's flight and subsequent execution, but his account of the intrigues of Vides and Fajardo render it very probable. The whole affair is vouched for by an Englishman who afterwards went to Guiana with Robert Harcourt. "I was further informed," he writes, "by a Yaio, an ancient man, . . . that hee was one of them which with Morequito and Putimay, was at the killing of nine Spaniards, and a Spanish Pedas; and how Morequito was put to death, and a great many of his Indians hanged. . . ." (*Purchas*, Macle hose edition, Vol. xvi, pp. 405-6.)

² "We have little doubt," observes Schomburgk, "that the place which Raleigh calls the port of Guiana is Santo Thomé." He adds that perhaps policy directed him to keep the existence of a Spanish settlement in Guiana a secret. It seems clear, however, that no such fort, either at the mouth of the Caroni or lower down, was built until 1595, after Raleigh's departure. (Cf. *Introd.* pp. lxxix-lxxx, above.)

conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

¶ They haue also gotten a nephew of *Morequito*, whom they haue Christened and named *Don Iuan*, of whom they haue great hope, endeuoring by all means to establish him in the said prouince. Among manie other trades those *Spaniards* vsed in *Canoas* to passe to the riuers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Dissequebe*, which are on the south side of the mouth of *Orenoque*, and there buie women and children from the *Canibals*, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for 3 or 4 hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more euen their own daughters: heerof the Spaniards make great profit, for buying a maid of 12 or 13 yeeres for three or fower hatchets, they sell them againe at *Marguerita* in the west Indies for 50 and 100 pesos, which is so many crownes.

¶ The master of my ship *Io. Douglas* tooke one of the *Canoas* which came loden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those hee brought, there was one as well fauored, and as well shaped as euer I saw anie in England, and afterward I sawe many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may bee compared to anie of *Europe*. They also trade in those riuers for bread of *Cassaui*, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at *Marguerita* for ten pesos. They also recouer great store of cotten, brasill wood, and those beds which they call *Hamacas* or brasill beds¹, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards vse to lie commonlie, and in no other, neither did we our selues while we were there: By means of which trades, for ransom of diuers of the *Guianians*, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, *Berreio* recouerred some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and Images of men and diuers birds, and dispatched his Campmaster for Spaine with all that he had gathered, therewith to leuy soldiers, and by the shew therof to draw others to the loue of the enterprize: and hauing sent diuers Images as well of men as beasts, birds and fishes so curiouslie wrought in gold, doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especially for that this land hath neuer been sacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labor and charge: he also dispatched messengers to

¹ The Indian tribes of Guiana, and particularly the Macusi, have always been noted for their dexterity in weaving cotton cloth for hammocks, loin cloths, etc. Their methods of spinning, and weaving and hammock-making are elaborately described by W. C. Farabee in *The Central Arawaks* (Univ. of Penns., Anthropological Publications, Vol. ix, 1918), pp. 26-30, and in *The Central Caribs* (*ibid.* Vol. x, 1924), pp. 24-9, etc.

his son in *Nuevo reyno* to leuy all the forces he could, and to come down the riuer of *Orenoque* to *Emeria*, the prouince of *Carapana*, to meet him: he had also sent to *Sant Iago de Leon* on the coast of the *Caracas* to buy horses and mules.

¶ After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed: I told him that I had resolved to see *Guiana*, and that it was the end of my iourney, and the cause of my comming to *Trinidado*, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent *Ia. Whiddon* the yeere before to get intelligence, with whom *Berreio* himselve had speech at that time, and remembred how inquisitiue *Ia. Whiddon* was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of *Guiana*,) *Berreio* was stricken into a great melancholie and sadnes, and vsed all the arguments he could to disswade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labor lost: and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded: And first he deliuered that I could not enter anie of the riuers with any barke or pinace, nor hardly with anie ships bote, it was so low, sandie, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their *Canoas* which drew but twelue inches water: he further saide that none of the countrey would come to speake with vs, but would all flie, and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes, and besides that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to swel, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those smal botes by any means carry victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the Kings and Lords of all the borders and of *Guiana* had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, bicause the same would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

¶ Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resolving to make trial of all whatsoever hapned, directed Captaine *George Gifford* my Vice-admirall to take the *Lions whelp*, and Captaine *Calfield* his barke to turne to the eastward, against the brize what they could possible, to recouer the mouth of a riuer called *Capuri*¹, whose entrance I had before sent Captaine *Whiddon* and *Io. Douglas* the master, to discouer, who founde some nine foote water or better vpon the flood, and fiue at lowe water, to whom I had giuen instructions that they shoulde ancor at the edge of the shold, and vpon the best of the flood to thrust ouer, which

¹ I.e. the Rio Capure, directly opposite Point Curiapan. An examination of Raleigh's map rules out Schomburgk's suggestion that Raleigh actually meant the Caño Macareo.

shold *John Douglas* boyed and bekonned for them before: but they laboured in vain, for neither could they turne it vp altogether so farre to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell ere they coule haue passed the sands, as we after founde by a second experience: so as now we must either giue ouer our enterprize, or leauing our ships at aduenture 400 mile behind vs, to run vp in our ships botes, one barge, and two wherries, but being doubtfull how to carrie victuals for so long a time in such bables, or anie strength of men, especiallie for that *Berreio* assured vs that his sonne must be by that time come downe with manie soldiers, I sent away one *King* maister of the *Lions whelp* with his ships bote to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*¹, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter: But when he came to the mouth of *Amana*, he found it as the rest, but staid not to discouer it throughlie, bicause he was assured by an Indian his guide that the *Canibals* of *Guanipa* would assaile them with many *Canoas*, and that they shot poisoned arrowes, so as if he hasted not backe they should all be lost.

¶ In the mean time fearing the worst I caused all the Carpenters we had to cut down a *Gallego* bote, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to drawe but fieve foote, for so much we had on the bar of *Capuri* at lowe water: And doubting of *Kings* return I sent *Io. Douglas* againe in my long barge, as well to releue him as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that baie: For it hath beene held for infallible that whatsoeuer ship or bote shall fall therein, can neuer dessemboque againe, by reason of the violent currant which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the brize and easterlie wind bloweth directlie into the same, of which opinion I haue heard *John Hampton* of *Plimmouth* one of the greatest experience of *England*, and diuers others besides that haue traded *Trinidado*.

¶ I sent with *John Douglas* an old *Cassique* of *Trinidado* for a Pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne again by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into *Capuri*, and so returne in fower daies: *John Dowglas* searched those riuers, and found fower goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the *Thames* at *Wolwich*, but in the baie thitherward it was shole and but six foote water, so as we were now

¹ The Boca Manamo, one of the chief outlets of the Orinoco delta, and up which *Raleigh* and his men subsequently passed.

without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolved to go on with the botes, and the bottome of the *Gallego*, in which we thrust 60 men: In the *Lions whelps* bote and wherrie we carried 20. Captaine *Calfeild* in his wherrie carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to carrie victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine *Gifford* had with him Master *Edw. Porter*, captaine *Eynos*, and eight more in his wherrie with all their victuall, weapons, and prouisions: Captaine *Calfeild* had with him my cosen *Butthead Gorges* and eight more. In the galley, of gent. and officers my selfe had captaine *Thyn*, my cosen *John Greenuile*, my nephew *John Gilbert*, captaine *Whiddon*, captaine *Keymis*, *Edw. Hancocke*, captaine *Clarke*, lieutenant *Hewes*, *Tho. Vpton*, captaine *Facy*, *Ierome Ferrar*, *Antho. Wells*, *Will. Connock*, and about 50 more. We could not learne of *Berreio* any other waie to enter but in branches, so farre to the windeward, as it was impossible for vs to recouer: for we had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wherries as betweene *Douer* and *Callys*, and in a great billow, the winde and currant being both very strong, so as we were driuen to go in those small botes directly before the winde into the bottome of the baie of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those riuers, which *Io. Dowglas* had last discouered, and had with vs for Pilote an *Indian* of *Barema*, a riuier to the south of *Orenoque*, betweene that and *Amazones*, whose *Canoas* we had formerlie taken as he was going from the said *Barema*, laden with *Cassaui* bread to sell at *Marguerita*: this *Arwacan* promised to bring me into the great riuier of *Orenoque*, but indeed of that which we entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres before, at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement, and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yeere in that laborinth of riuers, ere we had found any way, either out or in, especiallie after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in fower daies: for I know all the earth doth not yeeld the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the Sun or compasse hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that waie we were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Ilands, and euery Iland so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any further than the bredth of the riuier, or length of the breach: But this it chanced that entring into a riuier, (which bicause it had no name we called the riuier of the *Red crosse*, our selues being the first *Christians* that euer came therein:) the 22 of *May* as

we were rowing vp the same, we espied a smal *Canoe* with three *Indians*, which (by the swiftnes of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke ere they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the thicke wood gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken: But when they perceiued that we offred them no violence, neither entred their *Canoe* with any of ours, nor tooke out of the *Canoe* any of theirs, they then began to shew themselues on the banks side, and offred to traffique with vs for such things as they had, and as we drewe neere they all staide, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

¶ As we abode there a while, our Indian Pilot called *Ferdinando* would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruites, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and to know the Lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his which he had with him in the iourney: when they came to the village of these people, the Lord of the Iland offred to lay hands on them, purposing to haue slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territorie to spoyle and destroy them: But the Pilot being quicke and of a disposed body slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we staid in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine, with that we set hands on one of them that was next vs, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our Pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This old man being resolued that he should paie the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to saue *Ferdinando* our Pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him vpon the foote with their Deere dogs, and with so maine a crie that all the woods eckoed with the shoute they made, but at last this poore chased Indian recouered the riuer side, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the barge halfe dead with feare; but our good hap was, that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeeme our Pilot withall, for being naturall of those riuers, we assured our selues he knew the way better than any stranger could, and indeed, but for this chance I thinke we had neuer founde the way either to *Guiana*, or backe to our ships: for *Ferdinando* after a few daies knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himselfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Those people which dwell in these broken Ilands and drowned lands are generally called *Tiuitiuas*,

there are of them two sorts, the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *Waraweete*¹.

¶ The great riuier of *Orenoque* or *Baraquan* hath nine branches which fall out on the north side of his owne maine mouth: on the south side it hath seuen other fallings into the sea, so it disemboketh by 16 armes in al, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are verie great, manie of them as bigge as the Isle of *Wight* and bigger, and many lesse: from the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at lest 100 leagues, so as the riuers mouth is no lesse than 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger than that of *Amazones*: al those that inhabite in the mouth of this riuier vpon the seuerall north branches are these *Tiuitiuas*, of which there are two chiefe Lords which haue continuall warres one with the other: the Ilands which lie on the right hand are called *Pallamos*, and the land on the left *Hororotomaka*, and the riuier by which *Iohn Dowglas* returned within the land from *Amana* to *Capuri*, they call *Macuri*.

¶ These *Tiuitiuas* are a verie goodlie people and verie valiant, and haue the most manlie speech and most deliberate that euer I heard of what nation soeuer. In the summer they haue houses on the ground as in other places: In the winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spanish storie of the *West Indies*, that those people do in the low lands neere the gulfes of *Vraba*: for betweene *May* and *September* the riuier of *Orenoque* riseth thirtie foote vpriight, and then are those Ilands ouerflowen twentie foote high aboute the leuell of the ground, sauing some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are enforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eate of anie thing that is set or sowed, and as at home they vse neither planting nor other manurance, so when they com abroad they refuse to feede of ought, but of that which nature without labor bringeth foorth. They vse the tops of *Palmitos* for bread, and kil Deere, fish and porks for the rest of their sustenance, they haue also manie sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great varietie of birds and foule.

¹ Cf. the statement of the Englishman who accompanied Harcourt (quoted above)—“He (the Yaio) addeth further, how he knew the two nations of Tivitivas, called Ciawana and Warawitty, who are forced in the flouds to build their houses on the top of trees. And now he saith the Spaniard hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping divers of them to make and mend his Canoas.” (*Purchas, ut supra*, p. 408.) The remnants of the Tivitivas or Waraus still inhabit the marsh lands of the Orinoco delta and are still famous as canoe-builders. (See W. E. Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*. Washington, 1924.)

¶ And if to speake of them were not tedious and vulgare, surely we sawe in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not else where to be found, for as much as I haue either seen or read. Of these people those that dwell vpon the branches of *Orenoque* called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the most part Carpenters of *Canoas*, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into *Guiana* for gold, and into *Trinidado* for *Tobacco*, in the excessiue taking whereof, they exceede all nations, and notwithstanding the moistnes of the aire in which they liue, the hardnes of their diet, and the great labors they suffer to hunt, fish, and foule for their liuing, in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I neuer behold a more goodlie or better fauoured people, or a more manlie. They were wont to make warre vpon all nations, and especially on the *Canibals*, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those riuers, but of late they are at peace with their neighbors, all holding the *Spaniards* for a common enimie. When their commanders die, they vse great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcase againe, and hang it in the *Casiquies* house that died, and decke his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his armes, thighes, and legges. Those nations which are called *Arwacas* which dwell on the south of *Orenoque*, (of which place and nation our Indian Pilot was) are dispersed in manie other places, and do vse to beate the bones of their Lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their seuerall sorts of drinks.

¶ After we departed from the port of these *Ciawani*, we passed vp the riuier with the flood, and anchored the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third daie that we entred the riuier our *Galley* came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that euen there our discouery had ended, and that we must haue left 60 of our men to haue inhabited like rookes vpon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hawling to and fro, we got her affloat, and went on: At fower daies ende wee fell into as goodlie a riuier as euer I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directlie without windings and turnings than the other. But soone after the flood of the sea left vs, and we enforced either by maine strength to row against a violent currant, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three daies worke, and therfore desired them to take paines, euery gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the howers end. Euerie daie we passed by goodlie branches of riuers,

some falling from the west, others from the east into *Amana*, but those I leaue to the description in the *Chart* of discouerie, where euerie one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three daies more were ouergone, our companies began to despaire, the weather being extreame hot, the riuier bordered with verie high trees that kept away the aire, and the currant against vs euerie daie stronger than other: But we euermore commanded our Pilots to promise an end the next daie, and vsed it so long as we were driuen to assure them from fower reaches of the riuier to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured as many daies were spent, and so driuen to draw our selues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the last, and no drinke at all: and our men and our selues so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall whether we should euer performe it or no, the heat encreasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in fiae degrees¹.

¶ The farther we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnes) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and abilitie, for howerlie the riuier ran more violently than other against vs, and the barge, wherries, and ships bote of Captaine *Gifford*, and Captaine *Calfield*, had spent all their prouisions, so as wee were brought into despaire and discomfort, had we not perswaded all the companie that it was but onlie one daies worke more to attaine the lande where we should be releued of all we wanted, and if we returned that we were sure to starue by the way, and that the worlde would also laugh vs to scorne. On the banks of these riuers were diuers sorts of fruits good to eate, flowers and trees of that varietie as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals, we releued our selues manie times with the fruits of the countrey, and somtimes with foule and fish: we sawe birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, greene, watched, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, as it was vnto vs a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fouling peeces, without which, hauing little or no bread and lesse drink, but onely the thick and troubled water of the riuier, we had been in a very hard case.

¶ Our old Pilot of the *Ciawani* (whom, as I said before, we tooke to redeeme *Ferdinando*,) told vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuier on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leaue the *Galley* at ancor the while in the great riuier, he would bring vs to a towne of the *Arwacas* where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the coun-

¹ As Schomburgk points out, this was a blunder. Instead of being in 5°, Raleigh was then in about 9° north of the equator.

trey wine, and perswaded vs that departing from the *Galley* at noone, we might returne ere night: I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barge, with eight musketiers, Captain *Giffords* wherrie, with himselfe and foure musketiers, and Captaine *Calfield* whith his wherrie and as manie, and so we entred the mouth of this riuer, and bicause we were perswaded that it was so neere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all: when we had rowed three howres, we maruelled we sawe no signe of any dwelling, and asked the Pilot where the town was, he told vs a little farther: after three howers more the *Sun* being almost set, we began to suspect that he led vs that waie to betraie vs, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from *Trinidado*, and also those that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were ioyned together in some village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night, and we demaunding where the place was, he tolde vs but fower reaches more: when we had rowed fower and fower, we saw no signe, and our poore water men euen hart broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghost; for we had now come from the *Galley* neer forty miles.

¶ At the last we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well knowen the way backe againe by night, he had surely gone, but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safetie: for it was as darke as pitch, and the river began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang ouer from side to side, as we were driuen with arming swordes to cut a passage thorow those branches that couered the water. We were very desirous to finde this towne hoping of a feast, bicause we made but a short breakfast aboard the *Galley* in the morning, and it was now eight a clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace: but whether it was best to returne or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the Pilot more and more: but the poore old Indian euer assured vs that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one a clocke after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When wee landed we found few people, for the Lord of that place was gone with diuers *Canoas* aboue 400 miles of, vpon a iourney towards the head of *Orenoque* to trade for gold, and to buy women of the *Canibals*, who afterward vnfortunatly passed by vs as we rode at an ancor in the port of *Morequito* in the dark of night, and yet came so neer vs, as his *Canoas* grated against our barges: he left one of his companie at the port of *Morequito*, by whom we vnderstood that he had brought thirty yong woomen, diuers plates of gold, and had great store of fine peeces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning

after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our *Galley*, and brought with vs some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

¶ On both sides of this riuer, we passed the most beautifull countrie that euer mine eies beheld: and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, heere we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themselues, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and stil as we rowed, the Deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene vsed to a keepers call. Vpon this riuer there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it diuers sorts of strange fishes, and of maruellous bignes, but for *Lagartos* it exceeded, for there were thousands of those vglie serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the riuer of *Lagartos*, in their language. I had a *Negro* a very proper yoong fellow, that leaping out of the *Galley* to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those *Lagartos*. In the mean while our companies in the *Galley* thought we had beene all lost, (for we promised to returne before night) and sent the *Lions Whelps* ships bote with Capitaine *Whiddon* to follow vs vp the riuer, but the next day after we had rowed vp and downe some fower score miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer, and when we were euen at the last cast for want of victuals, Capitaine *Gifford* being before the *Galley*, and the rest of the botes, seeking out some place to land vpon the banks to make fire, espied fower *Canoas* comming downe the riuer, and with no small ioy caused his men to trie the vttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the 4 gaue ouer, and ran themselues ashore, euery man betaking himselfe to the fastnes of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither: those *Canoas* that were taken were loden with bread, and were bound for *Marguerita* in the west Indies, which those Indians (called *Arwacas*) purposed to carrie thither for exchange: But in the lesser, there were three Spaniards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in *Trinidado*, and that we purposed to enter *Guiana*, came away in those *Canoas*: one of them was a *Cauallero*¹, as the Capitaine of the *Arwacas* after told vs, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

¹ This was Phelipe de Santiago, who had been brought up by Berrio in New Granada, and who subsequently deserted his service for that of Francisco de Vides. This encounter is mentioned in the Spanish reports (see App. B, below, p. 119.)

¶ In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue been more welcome to vs next vnto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these *Canoas*, for now our men cried, let vs go on, we care not how farre. After that Captaine *Gifford* had brought the two *Canoas* to the *Galley*, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the *Canoas* first ran themselues ashore, and landed there, sending out Captaine *Gifford* and Captaine *Thyn* on the one hand, and Captaine *Calfield* on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket, for I found in it, his quicksiluer, saltpeter, and diuers things for the triall of mettals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those *Canoas* which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered 500 pound to what soldier soeuer could take one of those 3 Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe, for they put themselues into one of the small *Canoas*: and so while the greater *Canoas* were in taking, they escaped: but seeking after the Spaniards, we found the *Arwacas* hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their *Canoas*: of which I kept the chieftest for a Pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*, by whom I vnderstood, where and in what countries the Spaniards had labored for gold, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselues so suddenly as by no meanes we could abide the digging of anie mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the *White spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had been perceiued by the company, there would haue bin by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for Pilots, so as both our selues might haue been preuented, and all our care taken for good vsage of the people been vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence, into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath bin often objected) who-soeuer had seene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it began to arise, and had been a moneth and od daies as we were from hearing ought from our ships, leauing them meanly mand, aboue 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountaines had been gold, or rich stones: And to say the truth all the branches and

small riuers which fell into *Orenoque* were raised with such speed, as if wee waded them ouer the shooes in the morning outward, we were couered to the shoulders homewarde the very same daie: and to stay to dig out gold with our nailes, had been *Opus laboris*, but not *Ingenij*: such a quantitie as would haue serued our turnes we could not haue had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disaduantage we had made, and that could haue been the best profit of farther search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste, and I could haue returned a good quantity of gold readie cast, if I had not shot at another marke, than present profit.

¶ This *Arwacan* Pilot with the rest, feared that we would haue eaten them, or otherwise haue put them to some cruell death, for the Spaniards to the end that none of the people in the passage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* it selfe might come to speech with vs, perswaded all the nations, that we were men eaters, and *Canibals*: but when the poore men and women had seen vs, and that we gaue them meate, and to euerie one some thing or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceiue the deceit and purpose of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wiues, and daughters daily, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the maiestie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleue, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently fauored which came among vs without deceit, starke naked.

¶ Nothing got vs more loue among them then this vsage, for I suffred not anie man to take from anie of the nations so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which course, so contrarie to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drew them to admire hir Maiestie, whose commandement I told them it was, and also woonderfully to honour our nation. But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoile and stealing, when we came to their houses, which bicause in all I could not preuent, I caused my Indian interpreter at euerie place when we departed, to know of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or els it was paid for to their vttermost demand. They also much woondred at vs, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at *Trinidado*, for they

were before resolved, that no nation of *Christians* durst abide their presence, and they woondred more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that hir Maiesties army and fleete had giuen them of late yeers in their owne countries.

¶ After we had taken in this supplie of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the *Canoas* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the *Spaniards* was christened *Martin*) I sent backe in the same *Canoa* the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando* my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to carie them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on with my new hired Pilot *Martyn* the *Arwacan*: but the next or second day after, we came aground againe with our galley, and were like to cast hir away, with all our victuall and prouision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were farre more in despaire at this time to free hir then before, bicause we had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therfore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in mishaps: but we fastened an ankor vpon the land, and with maine strength drew hir off: and so the 15 day we discouered a farre off the mountaines of *Guiana*¹ to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a slent of a northerly winde that blew very strong, which brought vs in sight of the great riuer of *Orenoque*, out of which this riuer descended wherein we were: we descried a farre off three other *Canoas* as far as we could discerne them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entred vp the great riuer, on the right hand to the westward, and there staied out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the prouince of *Carapana*, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to go vpwards to *Guiana*, the people in those parts being all their enimies, and those in the *Canoas* thought vs to haue beene those Spaniards that were fled from *Trinidado*, and had escaped killing: and when we came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what we were, wherewith they came backe willingly aboard vs: and of such fish and *Tortugas* egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other seruices they could.

¹ Probably the Sierra Imataca.

¶ That night we came to an ankor at the parting of three goodlie riuers¹ (the one was the riuier of *Amana* by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of *Orenoque* which crossed from the west and ran to the sea towards the east) and landed vpon a faire sand, where we found thousands of *Tortugas* egges², which are very wholsome meat, and greatly restoring, so as our men were now well filled and highlie contented both with the fare, and neerenes of the land of *Guiana* which appeered in sight. In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called *Toparimaca*, with some thirtie or fortie followers, and brought vs diuers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could, at least he dranke good Spanish wine (whereof we had a small quantitie in bottels) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next way to *Guiana*, who conducted our galley and botes to his owne port, and carried vs from thence some mile and a halfe to his towne, where some of our captaines garoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers herbs, and fruits digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of ten or twelue gallons very cleane and sweete, and are themsclues at their meetings and feasts the greatest garousers and drunkards of the world: when we came to his towne we found two *Cassiques*, whereof one of them was a stranger that had beene vp the riuier in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where we ankored, and the other was of that countrey a follower of *Toparimaca*: they laie each of them in a cotton *Hamaca*, which we call brasill beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a litle ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke ech of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feasts and meetings.

¶ That *Cassique* that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we ankored, and in all my life I haue seldome seene a better fauored woman: She was of good stature, with blacke eies, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, hir haire almost as long as hir selfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it seemed she stood not in that aw of hir husband, as the rest, for she spake and discourst, and dranke among the gentlemen and captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing hir owne

¹ Having followed Caño Manamo (Raleigh's River of the Red Cross) southward past its junction with the Caño Macareo, he had entered the main stream of the Orinoco. He was at anchor some miles east of the site of the modern town S. Rafael de Barrancas.

² Freshwater turtles, which are extraordinarily numerous in the Orinoco.

comelines, and taking great pride therein. I haue seene a Lady in England so like hir, as but for the difference of colour I would haue sworne might haue beene the same.

¶ The seate of this towne of *Toparimaca* was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round about it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adioyning. This towne is called *Arowacai*¹: the people are of the nation called *Nepoios*, and are followers of *Carapana*. In that place I sawe very aged people, that we might perceiue all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but euen as a case couered onely with skin. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and trauell, and knew the riuer most perfectly both by day and night, and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to haue such a Pilot, for it is fower, fiue, and six miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with woonderfull eddies, and strong currants, many great Ilands and diuers sholds, and many dangerous rocks, and besides vpon any increase of winde so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small botes durst not come from the shore, but when it was very faire.

¶ The next day we hasted thence, and hauing an easterly wind to helpe vs, we spared our arms from rowing: for after we entred *Orenoque*, the riuer lieth for the most part east and west, euen from the sea vnto *Quito* in *Peru*. This riuer is nauigable with ships little lesse than 1000 miles, and from the place where we entred it may be sailed vp in small pinaces to many of the best parts of *Nueuo reyno de granado*, and of *Popayan*: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day we sailed vp a branch of that riuer, hauing on the left hand a great Iland, which they cal *Assapana*², which may containe some fiue and twentie miles in length, and 6 miles in bredth, the great body of the riuer running on the other side of this Iland: Beyond that middle branch there is also another Iland in the riuer, called *Iwana*³, which is twice as big as the Isle of *Wight*, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of *Guiana*, runneth a third branch of *Orenoque* called *Arraroopana*: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ships. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at least thirtie miles brode, reckoning the Ilands which diuide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

¹ See Raleigh's map (frontispiece), whereon all the rivers and towns which he mentions are marked.

² I.e. the Island of Yaya.

³ The Island of Tortola.

¶ After we reached to the head of this Iland, called *Assapana*, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the north, called *Europa*¹, and fell into the great riuer, and beyond it, on the same side, we ankored for that night, by another Iland six miles long, and two miles brode, which they call *Ocaywita*: From hence in the morning we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the towne of *Toparimaca*, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called *Putyma*, a follower of *Topiawari*, chiefe Lord of *Arromaia*, who succeeded *Morequito*, whom (as you haue heard before) *Berreio* put to death, but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, so as we ankored againe that night neere the banks of another Iland, of bignes much like the other, which they call *Putapayma*, on the maine lande, ouer against which Iland was a very high mountaine called *Oecope*²: we coueted to ancor rather by these Ilands in the riuer, than by the maine, because of the *Tortugas* egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground serued better for vs to cast our nets for fish, the maine banks being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like vnto the best steele ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

¶ The next morning towards nine of the clocke, we weied ancor, and the brize encreasing, we sailed alwaies west vp the riuer, and after a while opening the lande on the right side, the countrey appeered to be champagne, and the banks shewed very perfect red: I therefore sent two of the little barges with captaine *Gifford*, and with him captaine *Thyn*, captaine *Calfield*, my cosen *Greenuile*, my nephew *Io. Gilbert*, captaine *Eynus*, master *Edw. Porter*, and my cosen *Butshead Gorges*, with some fewe soldiers, to march ouer the banks of that red land, and to discouer what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell brother to the *Cassique Toparimaca* told me, that those were called the plaines of the *Sayma*, and that the same leuell reached to *Cumana*, and *Carracas* in the west Indies, which are 120 leagues to the north, and that there inhabited fower principall nations. The first were the *Sayma*³, the next

¹ The Guaraguapo.

² Perhaps, as Schomburgk suggests, the hills on which the fortresses San Francisco and El Padrasto were afterwards constructed.

³ The Chayma Indians, a tribe of Akawai (*Assawai*), and of Carib stock, used to

Assawai, the third and greatest the *Wikiri*¹, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa* before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as he passed with three hundred horse from *Cumana* towards *Orenoque*, in his enterprize of *Guiana*, the fourth are called *Aroras*², and are as blacke as *Negros*, but haue smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and haue the most strong poison on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poison I will speake somewhat being a digression not vnnecessary.

¶ There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to finde out the true remedies of these poisoned arrowes, for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shot indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most vglie and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discolored, as blacke as pitch, and so vnsauery, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them: And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard, either by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their southsaiers and priests, who do conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

¶ Those medicines which are vulgar, and serue for the ordinarie poison, are made of the iuice of a roote called *Tupara*: the same also quencheth maruellously the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the *Guianians* than any other, for *Anthonio de Berreo* told me that he could neuer attaine to the knowledge therof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as wel therof, as of al other poisons. Some of the Spaniards haue been cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poisoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall heerafter trauell the Indies where poisoned arrowes are vsed, that they must abstaine from drinke, for if they take any licor into their body, as they shall be maruellously prouoked therunto by drought, I say,

inhabit the old province of *Cumana* north-west of the *Orinoco*. They are described by *Humboldt* (*Personal Narrative*, Vol. III, chap. 9; cf. *W. Hilhouse, The Warow land of British Guiana*, London, 1834, pp. 321-33).

¹ The *Guayquirie* (*Wikiri*), also of *Carib* stock, inhabit the left bank of the *Orinoco* between the *Apure* and *Caura* rivers. The situation of these tribes is accurately indicated in *Raleigh's map* (*q.v.*).

² Possibly the *Waraus* (see p. 38, note 1, above).

if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soone vpon it, there is no way with them but present death¹.

¶ And so I wil returne again to our iourney which for this third day we finished, and cast ankor againe neere the continent, on the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called *Aroami*, and the other *Aio*: I made no stay heere but till midnight, for I feared howerly least any raine should fall, and then it had beene impossible to haue gone any further vp, notwithstanding that there is euery day a very strong brize, and easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrie on *Guiana* side, till my returne downe the riuier. The next day we sailed by a great Iland, in the middle of the riuier, called *Manoripano*, and as wee walked a while on the Iland, while the *Galley* got a head of vs, there came after vs from the maine, a small *Canoe* with seuen or eight *Guianians*, to inuite vs to ankor at their port, but I deferred it till my returne; It was that *Cassique* to whom those *Nepoios* went, which came with vs from the towne of *Toparimaca*: and so the fift day we reached as high vp as the Prouince of *Arromaia* the countrey of *Morequito* whom *Berreio* executed, and ankored to the west of an Iland called *Murrecotima*, ten miles long and fiue brode: and that night the *Cassique Aramiari*, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voiage out of the riuier of *Amana*) passed by vs.

¶ The next day we arriued at the port of *Morequito*, and ankored there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of *Aromaia*, vnkle to *Morequito*, slaine by *Berreio* as aforesaide. The next day following, before noone he came to vs on foote from his house, which was 14 English miles, (himself being 110 years old) and returned on foote the same daie, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to woonder at our nation, and to bring vs down victuall, which they did in great plenty, as venison, porke, hens, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruits, and rootes, and great abundance of *Pinas*, the princesse of fruits, that grow vnder the *Sun*, especially those of *Guiana*. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of *Paraquitos*, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great: one of them gaue me a beast called by the Spaniards *Armadilla*, which they call *Cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred ouer with small

¹ Every traveller among the Guiana Indians bears witness to their skill in preparing poisons. Many kinds were (and still are) used for killing fish. The arrow-poison, of which the effects are here accurately described by Raleigh, is known as Urari or Curari. Schomburgk learnt the secret of its manufacture and killed a fowl with a diluted solution of it in five minutes. The Macusi have always been the best manufacturers of the poison. (See Farabee's account, *The Central Caribs*, ut supra, pp. 54-6.)

plates somewhat like to a *Renocero*, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in steed of a trumpet. *Monardus* writeth that a little of the powder of that horn put into the eare, cureth deafnes.

¶ After this old king had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to be set vp, I began by my interpretor to discourse with him of the death of *Morequito* his predecessor, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went anie farther I made him know the cause of my comming thither, whose seruant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should vndertake the voiage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of *Trinidado*) her Maiesties greatnes, her iustice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as manie of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceiue, all which being with great admiration attentuely heard, and maruellously admired, I began to sound the olde man as touching *Guiana*, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what strength and pollicy, how farre it extended, and what nations were friends or enimies adioining, and finally of the distance, and way to enter the same: he told me that himselfe and his people with all those downe the riuer towards the sea, as farre as *Emeria*, the Prouince of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themselues *Orenoqueponi*, bicause they bordered the great riuer of *Orenoque*, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and those mountaines in sight called *Wacarima*, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of *Wacarima* there was a large plaine (which after I discouered in my returne) called the valley of *Amariocapana*, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient *Guianians*. I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the further side of those mountaines, beyond the valley of *Amariocapana*, he answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his countrey and liberty, especially for that his eldest sonne was slain in a battel on that side of the mountaines, whom he most entirely loued,) that he remembred in his fathers life time when he was very old, and himselfe a yoong man that there came down into that large valley of *Guiana*, a nation from so far off as the *Sun* slept, (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed, by shewing a peece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epuremei*, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaues in the wood vpon

all the trees, and had now made themselues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called *Curaa*, sauing onely of two nations, the one called *Iwarawaqueri*, and the other *Cassipagotos*, and that in the last battell fought betweene the *Epuremei*, and the *Iwarawaqueri*, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aide of the *Iwarawaqueri*, a great troupe of the *Orenoqueponi*, and was there slaine, with al his people and freinds, and that he had now remaining but one sonne: and farther told me that those *Epuremei* had built a great town called *Macureguarai*, at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of *Guiana*, which haue no end: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great king of the *Oreiones* and *Epuremei* kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withall daily to inuade and slaie them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offred to inuade his territories, and those frontires, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, sauing onely the *Iwarawaqueri*, and those other nations vpon the head of the riuier of *Caroli*, called *Cassipagotos*, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the *Spaniard* for a common enimie¹.

¶ After he had answered thus far, he desired leaue to depart, saying that he had far to go, that he was old, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with vs that night, but I could not intreat him, but he told me that at my returne from the countrie aboue, he would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the best he could, of all that his countrie yeelded: the same night hee returned to *Orocotona*² his owne towne, so as he went that day 28 miles, the weather being very hot, the countrie being situate betweene 4 and 5 degrees of the *Equinotiall*. This *Topiawari* is held for the proudest, and wisest of al the *Orenoqueponi*, and so he behaued himselfe towards me in all his answers at my returne, as I maruelled to finde a man of that grauity and iudgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breed.

¹ This account of the invasion of Guiana by a semi-civilised people from the south (probably the Arekunas, see Introd. p. lxxvii, above) is the same story which was told by the natives to Domingo de Vera. (See App. A, p. 107, below.)

² Schomburgk points out that this is a Macusi word, *orekê* meaning parrot, and *wana*, town. By tracing the derivation of this and other place-names mentioned by Raleigh, he shows that there is a probability that the Orenoqueponi were a branch of the Macusi, who now inhabit the plains about the Rupununi and Rio Branco. The comment of W. H. Brett (*The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, London, 1868, p. 478) on this suggestion is, however, worth noting. "*Pona* (meaning 'upon' and many other words are common to the Kâpohn and other tribes, as well as to the Macusi, so that the above reasoning is not quite conclusive."

¶ The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward vp the riuer, to view the famous riuer called *Caroli*, as well bicause it was maruellous of it selfe, as also for that I vnderstood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontires, that were enimies to the *Epuremei*, which are subiects to *Inga*, Emperor of *Guiana*, and *Manoa*, and that night we ankored at another Iland called *Caiama*¹, of some fiue or sixe miles in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of *Caroli*², when we were short of it as low or further downe as the port of *Morequito* we heard the great rore and fall of the riuer, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries thinking to haue gone vp some fortie miles to the nations of the *Cassipagotos*, we were not able with a barge of eight oares to rowe one stones cast in an hower, and yet the riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and euery part of the riuer, so as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and sent off our *Orenoquepone* (which came with vs from *Morequito*) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the riuer of our being there, and that we desired to see the Lords of *Canuria*, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this riuers side that *Morequito* slew the *Frier*, and those nine Spaniards which came from *Manoa*, the Citie of *Inga*, and tooke from them 40000 pesoes of Golde) so as the next daie there came downe a Lorde or *Cassique* called *Wanuretona* with many people with him, and brought all store of prouisions to entertaine vs, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowne to *Topiawari*, so did I acquaint this *Cassique* therewith, and howe I was sent by her Maiesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of *Guiana*, and I founde that those also of *Caroli* were not onely enemies to the Spaniardes but most of all to the *Epuremei*, which abounde in Gold, and by this *Wanuretona*, I had knowledge that on the heade of this riuer were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this riuer descended, and were called *Cassipagotos*, *Eparagotos*, and *Arawagotos*, and that all those eyther against the Spaniards, or the *Epuremei* would ioine with vs, and that if wee entred the lande ouer the mountaines of *Curaa*, wee should satisfie our selues with golde and all other good things: hee told vs farther of a nation called *Iwarawaqueri* before spoken off, that held daily warre with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai* the first ciuill towne of *Guiana*, of the subiectes of *Inga* the Emperor.

¹ Now named Faxardo.

² The Caroni, near the source of which Berrio and Raleigh believed the lake and city of Manoa to be.

¶ Vpon this riuer one Captaine *George*¹, that I tooke with *Berreio* tolde me there was a greate siluer mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the saide riuer. But by this time as well *Orenoque*, *Caroli*, as all the rest of the riuers were risen fowre or fiue foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boate whatsoeuer to rowe into the riuer against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine *Thyn*, Captaine *Greenuile*, my nephew *Iohn Gylbert*, my cosen *Butshead Gorges*, Captaine *Clarke*, and some 30 shot more to coast the riuer by lande, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles ouer the valley called *Amnatapoi*, and if they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another greate towne, called *Capurepana*², belonging to a *Cassique* called *Haharacoa* (that was a nephew to old *Topiawari* king of *Arromaia* our chieftest friend) because this towne and prouince of *Capurepana* adioyned to *Macureguarai*, which was the frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfield*, *Edw. Hancocke*, and some halfe a dosen shot marched ouer land to view the strange ouerfals of the riuer of *Caroli*, which rored so farre of, and also to see the plaines, adioyning and the rest of the prouince of *Canuri*: I sent also captaine *Whiddon*, *W. Connocke*, and some eight shot with them, to see if they coulde finde any minerall stone alongst the riuers side. When we ronned to the tops of the first hils of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe *Caroli*: and might from that mountaine see the riuer how it ran in three parts, aboue twentie miles of, and there appeared some ten or twelue ouerfals in sight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it seeme, as if it had beene all couered ouer with a great shower of rayne: and in some places we tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen ouer some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the said straunge thunder of waters, as they drew mee on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discerne the same. I neuer saw a more beawtifull countrey, nor more liuely prospectes, hils so raised heere and there ouer the vallies, the riuer winding into diuers braunches, the plaines adioyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easy to march on, eyther for horse or foote, the deare crossing in euery path, the birds towards the euening singing on euery tree with

¹ I.e. Alvaro Jorge, one of Berrio's most trusted officers. Accounts of his capture by Raleigh, his release, and subsequent death are to be found in the Spanish reports (App. A and B).

² See Raleigh's map.

a thousand seuerall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation pearching on the riuers side, the ayre fresh with a gentle easterlie wind, and euery stone that we stooped to take vp, promised eyther golde or siluer by his complexion. Your Lordships shall see of many sortes, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered vnder the sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out heere and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall sparre aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veynes lie a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all thinges requisite saue onelie our desires, and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased God. To be short when both our companies returned, each of them brought also seuerall sortes of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but cullored, and had not any gold fixed in them, yet such as had no iudgement or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of *Marquesite* with all, from *Trinidado*, and haue deliuered of those stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the *Caracas* who told me that it was *El Madre deloro*, and that the mine was farther in the grounde. But it shall bee founde a weake pollicie in mee, eyther to betray my selfe, or my Countrey with imaginations, neyther am I so farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill sauoures, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the sunne couereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine *Whiddon*, and our Chirurgion *Nich. Millechap* brought me a kinde of stones like *Saphires*, what they may proue I knowe not, I shewed them to some of the *Orenoqueponi*, and they promised to bring me to a mountaine, that had of them verye large peeces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, *Bristoll Diamond*, or *Saphire* I doe not yet knowe, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neare. On the left hand of this riuier *Caroli* are seated those nations which are called *Iwarawakeri* before remembred, which are enemies to the *Epuremei*: and on the heade of it adioyning to the greate lake *Cassipa*, are situate those other nations which also resist *Inga*, and the *Epuremei*, called *Cassepagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arrawagotos*. I farther vnderstood that this lake of *Cassipa* is so large, as it is aboue one daies iourney for one of their *Canoas* to crosse, which may

be some 40 miles, and that therein fall diuers rivers, and that great store of graines of Golde are found in the summer time when the lake falleth by the bankes, in those braunches¹. There is also another goodly riuier beyond *Caroli* which is called *Arui*, which also runneth thorow the lake *Cassipa*, and falleth into *Orenoque* farther west, making all that land betweene *Caroli* and *Arui* an Iland², which is likewise a most beawtifull countrey. Next vnto *Arui* there are two riuers *Atoica*³ and *Caora*, and on that braunch which is called *Caora* are a nation of people, whose heades appeare not aboue their shoulders, which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne parte I am resolu'd it is true, because euery child in the prouinces of *Arumana* and *Canari* affirme the same: they are called *Ecaippanoma*; they are reported to haue their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of haire groweth backward betwen their shoulders⁴. The sonne of *Tepinuari*, which I brought with mee into England tolde mee that they are the most mightie men of all the lande, and vse bowes, arrowes, and clubs thrice as bigge as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Orenoquepini*, and that one of the *Icarawakeri* tooke a prisoer of them the yeare before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of *Arumana* his fathers Countrey: And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee tolde me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common, as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeares slaine manie hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbors, but it was not my chaunce to heare of them til I was come away, and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might haue brought

¹ The mythical lake Cassipa, which originated from Indian accounts of the great inundations of the River Paragua, a tributary of the Caroni, was considered by Raleigh to be distinct from, and far smaller than, the great laguna of Manoa. (Cf. Raleigh's map and Introd. p. lxxvi, above.)

² The Aro. Raleigh evidently altered his opinion after writing this, for his map shows the Arui (Aro) to have no connection with Cassipa.

³ Raleigh's map shows the Atoica as being *west* of the River Caora (Caora) and would thus seem to render Schomburgk's alternative identifications of the Pao and the Maitaco improbable. On the other hand, Sparrey's statement that, "neere vnto the River Arui are two Rivers, the one is called Atoica, the other Caora; and also one branch which is called Caora" (*Purchas*, Vol. xvi, p. 304), suggests that Atoica must mean the River Pao. The discrepancy supplies one more piece of evidence that the map here reproduced is a copy made by Harriot, or some other, from Raleigh's notes, independently of the original chart.

⁴ This story, which has been persistently adhered to by the legend-loving Indians, and which brought much ridicule upon Raleigh, was repeated to Robert Harcourt's men in 1604: "He (the Yaio Indian) further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher than their heads, which he called Wywaypanamv . . ." (*Purchas*, Vol. xvi, p. 408.)

one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by *Maundeuille*, whose reportes were held for fables many yeares, and yet since the East *Indies* were discoverd, wee finde his relations true of such thinges as heeretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination, for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolu'd that so many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

¶ When I came to *Cumana* in the west *Indies* afterwards, by chaunce I spake with a spanyard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after he knew that I had ben in *Guiana*, and so farre directlie west as *Caroli*, the first question he asked me was whether I had seene anie of the *Ewaipanoma*, which are those without heades: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all thinges else, told me that he had seen manie of them: I may not name him because it may be for his disaduantage, but he is well known to *Monsier Mucherons* sonne of London, and to *Peter Mucheron* marchant of the *Flemish* shipp that was there in trade, who also heard what he auowed to be true of those people. The fourth river to the west of *Caroli* is *Casnero*¹ which falleth into *Orenoque* on this side of *Amapaia*, and that riuer is greater then *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riseth on the south of *Guiana* from the mountaines which deuide *Guiana* from *Amazones*, and I thinke it to be nauigable many hundred miles: but we had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeare, to search those riuers for the causes aforesaid, the winter being come vppon vs, although the winter and summer as touching cold and heate differ not, neither do the trees euer sencible lose their leaues, but haue alwaies fruite either ripe or green, and most of them both blossomes, leaues, ripe fruite, and green at one time: But their winter onelie consisteth of terrible raynes, and ouerflowings of the riuers, with many great stormes and gusts, thunder, and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned. On the North side, the first riuer that falleth into *Orenoque* is *Cari*, beyond it on the same side is the riuer of *Limo*, betweene these two is a great nation of *Canibals*, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer and is called *Acamacari*: at this towne is a continuall markette of women for 3 or 4 hatchets a peece, they are bought by the *Arwacas*, and by them solde into the west Indies. To the west of *Limo* is the riuer *Pao*, beyond it *Caturi*, beyond that *Voari* and *Capuri* which falleth out of the great riuer of *Meta*, by which *Berreio* descended from *Nueuo reyno de granada*². To the westward of

¹ Evidently the Cuchivero.

² The Caturi is probably the Rio Manapire, the Voari the Guarico, and the Capure the Apure. Raleigh is, of course, in error in thinking that the Apure is connected with the Meta.

Capuri is the prouince of *Amapaia*, where *Berreio* wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the *Anebas*. Aboue *Amapaia*, towarde *Nueuo reyno* fall in, *Meta*, *Pato*, and *Cassanar*: to the west of these towardes the prouinces of the *Ashaguas* and *Catetios* are the riuers of *Beta*, *Dawney*, and *Vbarro*¹, and towardes the frontyer of *Peru* are the prouinces of *Thomebamba* and *Caximalta*: adjoyning to *Quito* in the North of *Peru* are the riuers of *Guiacar*² and *Goauar*²: and on the other side of the saide mountaines the riuier of *Papamene* which descendeth into *Maragnon* or *Amazones* passing through the prouince of *Mutylones* where *Don Pedro de Osua* who was slayne by the traytour *Agiri* before rehearsed, built his *Brigandines*, when he sought *Guiana* by the waie of *Amazones*. Betwene *Dawney* and *Beta* lieth a famous Iland in *Orenoque* now called *Baraquan* (For aboue *Meta* it is not knowne by the name of *Orenoque*) which is called *Athule*³, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible ouerfall, and Current of waters: but in the eddy all smaller vesselles may be drawn euen to *Peru* it selfe: But to speake of more of these riuers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the rest to the discription. This riuier of *Orenoque* is nauigable for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for lesser vessells neere 2000. By it (as aforesaid) *Peru*, *Nueuo reyno*, and *Popaian*, may be inuaded: it also leadeth to that great Empire of *Inga*, and to the prouinces of *Amapaia* and *Anebas* which abound in gold: his branches of *Cosnero*, *Manta*⁴, *Caora* descend from the middle land and valley, which lyeth betweene the easter prouince of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falles into the sea betweene *Maragnon* and *Trinidado* in two degrees and a half, al which your Honors shal better perceiue in the generall description of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nueuo reyno*, the kingdom of *Popayan*, and *Roidas*, with the prouince of *Vensuello*, to the bay of *Vraba* behind *Cartagena*, westward: and to *Amazones* southward. While we lay at ancor on the coast of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and braunches of this riuier, and had founde out so many seuerall people, which were enemies to the *Epuremei*, and the newe Conquerers: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of *Orenoque*

¹ The Pauto (Pato) and Casanare are tributaries of the Meta. The Beta is a small river which enters the Orinoco near the Isla Solvaje. Within a few miles of this spot the Dawney (probably the Tomo) and the Tuparo (Ubarro) also enter the main river. It was here that Berrio came upon the Orinoco (see Introd. p. lxvi, above, and Berrio's despatch, App. A, below, p. 92).

² The Guayavero (Guiacar) is a tributary of the Guaviare (Goavar).

³ The great cataract of Atures.

⁴ Possibly the Suapure.

beganne dailie to threaten vs with daungers in our returne, for no halfe day passed, but the riuer began to rage and ouerflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gusts in greate abundance: and withall, our men beganne to cry out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparrell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part ten times in one day: and we had nowe beene well neare a moneth, euery day passing to the westwarde, farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discouering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most materiall. The next day following we left the mouth of *Caroli*, and arriued againe at the port of *Morequito* where we were before (for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then 100 miles a day): As soon as I came to ancor I sent away one for old *Topiawari*, with whom I much desired to haue farther conference, and also to deal with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, (the time being now spent of anie longer stay there) within three howers after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sortes of people, and euery one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungrie companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the *Epuremei* and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey, and nations: that the one had conquered *Guiana* already, and that the other sought to regaine the same from them both: And therefore I desired him to instruct me what hee coulde, both of the passage into the golden partes of *Guiana*, and to the ciuill townes and apparrelled people of *Inga*. Hee gaue me an aunswere to this effect: first that hee did not perceiue that I meant to goe onwarde towards the Citie of *Manoa*, for neyther the time of the yeare serued, neyther could he perceiue any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did I was sure with all my company to be buried there, for that the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few: besides he gaue me this good counsell and aduised me to hold it in minde (as for himselfe he knewe, he coulde not liue til my returne) that I shoulde not offer by any meanes heereafter to inuade the strong partes of *Guiana* without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, eyther to be conducted, to be

victualled, or to haue ought carried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and trauell, vnlesse the borderers gaue them helpe, to carry with them both their meate and furniture: For he remembred that in the plaines of *Macureguarai* 300 Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes, but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were inuironed of all sides, and the people setting the long dry grasse on fire, smothered them so as they had no breath to fight, nor coulde discerne their enemies for the great smoke¹. He told me farther that fower daies iourney from his towne was *Macureguarai*, and that those were the next, and nearest of the subiectes of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the first towne of apparrelled and rich people, and that all those plates of Golde which were scattered among the borderers and carried to other nations farre and neare, came from the saide *Macureguarai* and were there made, but that those of the lande within, were farre finer, and were fashioned after the Image of men, beastes, birdes, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he woulde assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioine with vs, he answered that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the riuers did remaine fordable, vpon this condition that I woulde leaue with him til my returne againe fiftie souldiers, which hee vndertooke to victual: I answerd that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no prouision to leaue with them of powder, shot, apparrell, or ought else, and that without those thinges necessarie for their defence, they shoulde be in daunger of the Spaniardes in my absence, who I knew woulde vse the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at *Trinidad*: And although vpon the motion Captaine *Calfelde*, Captaine *Greenuile*, my nep-

¹ Raleigh afterwards referred again to this incident in the *History of the World*—"There were also some three years before my arrivall in *Guiana* (i.e. circa 1592), three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countreypople, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped" (Book iv, chap. 2, § xvi, p. 165). Schomburgk's assumption that Raleigh is referring to "Berrio's unfortunate expedition up the Caroni, of which Fray Simon gives a detailed description," is clearly erroneous. Simon's account (*Setima Noticia*, cap. xiv, 609-12) refers to the expedition from Spain, which Domingo de Vera sent up to Berrio at S. Thomé in 1596. Until that year Berrio never had more than a mere handful of men at his disposal. The three hundred mounted Spaniards mentioned by Raleigh almost certainly constituted an expedition sent out by Don Diego Osorio, or by one of Berrio's other rivals, in order to anticipate him in the discovery of El Dorado.

hewe *Iohn Gilbert* and diuers others were desirours to staie, yet I was resolu'd that they must needs haue perished, for *Berreio* expected daily a supply out of Spayne, and looked also howerly for his sonne to come downe from *Nueuo reyno de Granada*, with many horse and foote, and had also in *Valentia* in the *Caracas*, 200 horse readie to march, and I coulde not haue spared aboue fortie, and had not anie store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor anie other prouision, eyther spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall¹. When I had giuen him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a company, he then desired me to forbear him, and his countrey for that time, for hee assured me that I shoulde bee no sooner three daies from the coast, but those *Epuremei* woulde inuade him, and destroye all the remayne of his people and friendes, if hee shoulde any way eyther guide vs, or assist vs against them. Hee further alleadged that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murdered his Nephew *Morequito* Lorde of that prouince, so they had him 17 daies in a chaine before hee was king of the Countrey, and ledde him like a dogge from place to place, vntill hee had payde 100 plates of Golde, and diuers chaines of spleene stones for his raunsome, and nowc since hee became owner of that prouince that they had manie times laide waite to take him, and that they woulde be nowe more vehement when they shoulde vnderstand of his conference with the English, and because said hee, they woulde the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called *Eparacano* whome they haue christened *Don Iuan*, and his sonne *Don Pedro*, whome they haue also apparrelled and armed, by whome they seeke to make a partie against mee, in mine owne countrey: hee also hath taken to wife one *Louiana*, of a strong familie, which are my borderers and neighbours: and my selfe beeing nowe olde and in the handes of death, am not able to trauell nor to shift, as when I was of younger years: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeare, when he would vndertake to drawe in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it woulde be more seasonable to trauel, for at this time of the yeare, we should not be able to passe any riuer, the waters were and would be so growen ere our returne. Hee farther told me that I could not desire so much to inuade *Macureguari*, and the rest of *Guiana* but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the wars with the *Epuremei*, they were spoyled of their women,

¹ This statement shows that Raleigh was quite aware of the danger in which he stood from the troops which were "expected daily" with Domingo de Vera from Spain and with Fernando de Berrio y Oruña from New Granada.

and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne partes they desired nothing of the gold or treasure, for their labors, but onely to recouer women from the *Epuremei*: for he farther complayned very sadly (as if it had beene a matter of greate consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue ten or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselues with three or fower, and that the Lords of the *Epuremei* had 50 or 100. And in truth they warre more for women, then eyther for gold or dominion. For the Lords of countries desire many children of their owne bodies, to encrease their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwarde desired me to make hast againe, that they might sacke the *Epuremei*, and I asked them of what? they answered, of their women for vs, and their Golde for you: for the hope of many of those women they more desire the warre, then eyther for Golde, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subiectes of *Inga*, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spanyardes. After I receiued this aunswere of the olde man, wee fell into consideration, whether it had beene of better aduice to haue entered *Macureguarai*, and to haue begunne a warre vpon *Inga* at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yere, and all thinges else had sorted. For mine own part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarrie any longer from our ships) I thought it verie euill counsell to haue attempted it at that time, although the desire of golde will aunswere many obiections: But it woulde haue been in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrowe to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Maiestie attempted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Maiestie to relieue them) they would as good cheape haue ioyned with the Spanyards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, when they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke and spoyle them, but as yet our desier of gold, or our purpose of inuasion is not known vnto those of the Empire: and it is likely that if her maiestie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselues to her obedience then to the Spanyards, of whose cruelty both themselues and the borderers haue already tasted: and therefore til I had known her maiesties pleasure, I woulde rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue been very profitable) then to haue defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good, and rich trade which England maie

bee possessed off thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die euen to the last man against the Spanyardes, in hope of our succoure and returne: whereas otherwise if I had either laid handes on the borderers, or ransomed the Lordes as *Berreio* did, or inuaded the subiects of *Inga*, I knowe all had been lost for hereafter. After that I had resolved *Topiawari* Lorde of *Aromaia* that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprize against the *Epuremei* till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onelie sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though he himselfe had but a short tyme to liue, yet that by our meanes his sonne shoulde be established after his death: and I left with him one *Frauncis Sparrow*, a sertuant of captaine *Gifford*, (who was desirous to tarry, and coulde describe a cuntrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called *Hugh Goodwin*, to learne the language¹. I after asked the manner howe the *Epuremei* wrought those plates of golde, and howe they coulde melt it out of the stone; he tolde me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not seuered from the stone, but that on the lake of *Manoa*, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect golde and in peeces as bigg as small stones, and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they coulde not worke it, and that they vsed a great earthen pottle with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastned canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the mettell ran, and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and Images. I haue sent your Honours, of two sorts such as I coulde by chance recouer, more to shew the manner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of golde knownen, because I had neyther time, nor power to haue a greater quantitie. I gaue among them manye more peeces of Golde then I receaued of the new money of 20 shillings with her Maiesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her seruants thenceforth.

¶ I haue also sent your Honors of the oare, whereof I knowe some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth anie, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, bars, sledges, nor wedges of Iron, to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mynes: but we sawe all the hils with stones of the cullor of Gold and siluer, and wee tried them to be no *Marquesite*, and therefore such as the

¹ For the subsequent adventures of Francis Sparrey and Hugh Goodwin, see Introd. p. lxxxiv, above, and App. B, below.

Spaniards call *El Madre del oro*, which is an vndoubted assurance of the generall abundance; and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the white sparre, which I know to be the same that all couet in this worlde, and of those, more then I will speake of.

¶ Hauing learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and receiued a faithful promise of the principallest of those prouinces to become seruantes to her Maiestie, and to resist the Spanyardes, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they woulde drawe in the nations about the lake of *Cassipa*, and those *Iwarawaqueri*, I then parted from olde *Topiawari*, and receiued his sonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforesaid: To *Francis Sparrowe* I gaue instructions to trauell to *Macureguarai*, with such marchaundizes as I left with him, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible to go on, to the great City of *Manoa*: which being done, we weyed ancor, and coasted the riuer on *Guiana* side, because we came vp on the north side, by the launes of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

¶ There came with vs from *Aromaia*, a *Cassique* called *Putijma*, that commaunded the prouince of *Warapana*, (which *Putijma* slewe the nyne Spaniardes vppon *Caroli* before spoken of,) who desired vs to rest at the porte of his Countrey, promising to bring vs to a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the cullor of Golde, which hee performed: And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer lande towards the saide mountaine, marching by a riuers side called *Mana*, leauing on the right hande a towne called *Tuteritona*, standing in the prouince of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principall: Beyond it lyeth another towne towards the south, in the valley of *Amariocapana*, which beareth the name of the saide valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some 60 miles in length, east and west, as fayre ground, and as beawtifull fieldes, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers copses scattered heere and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deare, as any forrest or parke in England, and in euery lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and fowle, of which *Irraparragota* is Lord¹.

¶ From the riuer of *Mana*, we crost another riuer in the said beawtifull valley called *Oiana*, and rested our selues by a cleare lake, which lay in the middle of the said *Oiana*, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two stickes, we staid a while to dry our shirts, which with the heat long very weete and heauy on our shoulders. Afterwards we sought the ford to passe ouer towards the mountain called *Iconuri*, where *Putijma* foretold

¹ The regions here described are the plains of Upata and Piacoa.

vs of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call *Manati*, and is most excellent and holosome meate. But after I perceiued, that to passe the saide riuer woulde require halfe a daies march more, I was not able my selfe to indure it, and therefore I sent Captaine *Keymis* with six shotte to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of *Putijma*, which is called *Chiparepare*, but to take leasure, and to march downe the said valley, as farre as a riuer called *Cumaca*, where I promised to meete him againe, (*Putijma* himselfe promising also to be his guide,) and as they marched, they left the townes of *Emparepana*, and *Capurepana*, on the right hande, and marched from *Putijmas* house, downe the saide valley of *Amariocapana*, and wee returning the same daie to the riuers side, sawe by the way many rockes, like vnto Golde oare, and on the left hand, a rounde mountaine which consisted of minerall stone¹.

¶ From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the prouince of *Parino*; As for the braunches of riuers which I ouerpasse in discourse, those shal be better expressed in the description, with the mountaines of *Aio*, *Ara*, and the rest, which are situate in the prouinces of *Parino* and *Carricurrina*. When wee were come as farre downe as the land called *Arriacoa*, (where *Orenoque* deuideth it selfe into three great braunches, each of them beeing most goodly riuers,) I sent away Captaine *Henry Thyn*, and Captaine *Greeneuile* with the Galley, the nearest way, and tooke with me Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfeild*, *Edward Porter*, and Captaine *Eynos* with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that braunch of *Orenoque*, which is called *Cararoopana*, which leadeth towards *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana*, and towards the east sea, as well to finde out Captaine *Keymis*, whome I had sent ouer land, as also to acquaint my selfe with *Carapana*, who is one of the greatest of all the Lordes of the *Orenoqueponi*: and when we came to the riuer of *Cumaca* (to which *Putijma* promised to conduct Captaine *Keymis*) I left Captaine *Eynos* and Master *Porter* in the said riuer to expect his comming, and the rest of vs rowed downe the streame towards *Emeria*.

¶ In this braunch called *Cararoopana* were also many goodly Ilandes, some of sixe miles long, some of tenne, and some of Twentie, when it

¹ An examination of Raleigh's map shows that he travelled across the plain of Upata in a south-easterly direction, crossing the Mana (the Supamo) and the Oiana (the Conoyaima, or possibly the Casacoima). Raleigh then returned to the bank of the Orinoco, while sending on a party with Lawrence Keymis and Putima down the valley of Amariocapana to the river Cumaca (evidently the Tipurua) opposite the west end of Tortola Island, there to rejoin the main body. It was in this valley that Keymis was shown the gold mine upon which Raleigh based all his hopes in 1617.

grewe towards sunne sett, we entred a braunch of a riuier that fel into *Orenoque* called *Winicapora*¹, where I was enformed of the mountaine of Christall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill season of the yeare, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: we saw it a farre off and it appeared like a white Church towre of an exceeding height: There falleth ouer it a mightie riuier which toucheth no parte of the side of the mountaine, but rusheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the grounde with a terrible noyse and clamor, as if 1000 great belles were knockt one against another. I thinke there is not in the worlde so straunge an ouerfall, nor so wonderfull to beholde: *Berreio* tolde mee that it hath Diamondes and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I knowe not, neyther durst he or any of his men ascende to the toppe of the saide mountaine, those people adioyning beeing his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassible.

¶ Vpon this riuier of *Winecapora* wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the Countrey to a towne called after the name of the riuier, whereof the chiefe was one *Timitwara*, who also offered to conduct mee to the toppe of the saide mountaine called *Wacarima*: But when wee came in first to the house of the saide *Timitwara*, beeing vpon one of their feast daies, wee founde them all as drunke as beggers, and the pottes walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hotte with marching, were glad of the plenty, though a small quantitie satisfied vs, their drinke beeing very strong and heady, and so rested our selues awhile; after we had fedde, wee drewe our selues backe to our boats, vpon the riuier, and there came to vs all the Lordes of the Countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of *Pinas*, and with aboundance of hens, and other prouisions, and of those stones which wee call Spleene-stones. Wee vnderstoode by these chieftaines of *Winicapora*, that their Lorde *Carapana* was departed from *Emeria* which was nowe in sight, and that hee was fledde to *Cairamo*, adioyning to the mountaines of *Guiana*, ouer the valley called *Amario-capana*, beeing perswaded by those tenne Spanyardes which lay at his house, that we woulde destroy him, and his countrey.

¶ But after these *Cassiqui* of *Winicapora* and *Saporatona* his followers perceiued our purpose, and sawe that we came as enemies to the Spanyardes onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though wee founde them to bee of the Spanyardes owne seruantes, they assured

¹ Schomburgk's identification of the *Winicapora* with the river now called Caño José seems to be corroborated by the position in which it is marked on Raleigh's map.

vs that *Carapana* would be as readie to serue vs, as any of the Lordes of the prouinces, which wee had passed; and that hee durst doe no other till this daie but entertaine the Spanyardes, his countrey lying so directly in their waie, and next of all other to any enterance that should be made in *Guiana* on that side.

¶ And they farther assured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that hee was remoued, but to be acquitted of those Spanyardes or any other that shoulde come heerafter. For the prouince of *Cairoma* is situate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of *Guiana*, from the countries of the *Orenoqueponi*: by meanes whereof if any shoulde come in our absence into his townes, hee woulde slippe ouer the mountaines into the plaines of *Guiana* amonge the *Epuremei*, where the Spanyardes durste not followe him without greate force.

¶ But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that *Carapana* (beeing a notable wise and subtile fellowe, a man of one hundred yeares of age, and therefore of greate experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if hee finde that wee returne strong, hee will bee ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spanyards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

¶ We therefore thought it booteles to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther for this olde fox: and therefore frome the riuer of *Waricapana* (which lieth at the entrance of *Emeria*,) we turned again, and left to the Eastward those 4 riuers which fall from out the mountaines of *Emeria* and *Orenoque*, which are *Waracapari*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*: belowe those 4 are also these braunches and mouths of *Orenoque*, which fall into the Est sea, whereof the first is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fift *Morooca*, the sixt *Paroma*, the last *Wijmi*¹: beyond them, there fall out of the land betweene *Orenoque* and *Amazones* 14 riuers which I forbear to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Caniballs*.

¶ It is nowe time to returne towardes the North, and we founde it a wearisome way backe, from the borders of *Emeria*, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer *Carerupana*, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the Porte of *Toparimaca*, by which we entred first.

¶ All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as we were driven to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartely afraid both of the billowe, and terrible Current

¹ Schomburgk suggests that *Waracapari* is the *Socoroco*. *Coirama* = the *Imataca*, *Aguire* = the *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma* = the *Carapo*. The map (which gives little help in these identifications) clearly substantiates his further suggestion that the River "Wijmi" is merely a repetition of the name *Wana* (*Waini*) already enumerated.

of the riuer. By the next morning wee recovered the mouth of the riuer of *Cumaca*, where wee left Captaine *Eynus* and Edward Porter to attend the coming of Captaine *Keymis* ouer land: but when we entred the same, they had heard no newes of his ariuall, which bredde in vs a great doubt what might be become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, shooting off peeces all the way, that he might know of our being there: And the next morning we hearde them answere vs also with a peece: we tooke them aboard vs, and tooke our leaue of *Putijma* their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offred to send his sonne with vs into England, if we could haue staide till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of *Orenoque*, and therefore departed, and turned towarde the west, till we had recovered the parting of the 3 braunches aforesaide, that we might put downe the streame after the Galley.

¶ The next day we landed on the Iland of *Assapana*, (which deuideth the riuer from that braunch by which we went down to *Emeria*) and there feasted our selues with that beast which is called *Armadilla* presented vnto vs before at *Winicapora*, and the day following we recovered the galley at ancour at the port of *Toparimaca*, and the same euening departed with verie fowle weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the winter was come on verie farre: the best was, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, down the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impossible to return, for that the riuer of *Amana*, being in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be sayled back by any meanes, both the brize and currente of the sea were so forcible, and therefore we followed a braunch of *Orenoque* called *Capuri*¹, which entred into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea, after wee came to the riuers mouth as betweene *Grauelyn* and *Douer*, in such boats as your Honours haue heard.

¶ To speake of what past homeward were tedious, eyther to describe or name any of the riuers, Ilands, or villages of the *Tiuitiuas* which dwell on trees, we will leaue all those to the generall mappe: And to be short, when we were arriued at the sea side then grew our greatest doubt, and

¹ Instead of following the route by which he had entered, namely the Caño Manamo (River of the Red Cross), Raleigh seems to have reached the sea by way of the Caño Cucuina, which he erroneously names the Capure. The latter is a small river flowing parallel to the Caño Cucuina but is only connected with it by an unnavigable tributary. Schomburgk's assumption that Raleigh followed the Caño Macareo is rendered very improbable in view of the dispositions marked on Raleigh's map.

the bitterest of all our iourney forepassed, for I protest before God, that wee were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the riuer of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to liue as coulde be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine own part, I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, eyther to goe ouer in the pestred Galley, there beeing but sixe foote water ouer the sands, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew fiue: or to aduenture in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfeild*, and my cosen *Greeneuile*, into my barge, and after it cleared vppe, about midnight wee put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at ancor, who durst not aduenture but by day light. And so beeing all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day about nyne of the clocke, we descryed the Iland of *Trinidado*, and steering for the nearest part of it, wee kept the shore til we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our ships at ancor, then which, there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull sight.

¶ Now that it hath pleased God to send vs safe to our ships, it is time to leaue *Guiana* to the Sunne, whom they worship, and steare away towards the north: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discouery thereof. Of the seuerall nations which we found vpon this discouery I will once againe make repetition, and how they are affected. At our first entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the outlets of *Orenoque*, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against *Trinidado*, a nation of inhumaine *Canibals*, which inhabite the riuers of *Guanipa* and *Berreese*; in the same bay there is also a third riuer which is called *Areo*, which riseth on *Paria* side towards *Cumana*, and that riuer is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whose chiefe towne vpon the said riuer is *Sayma*; In this bay there are no more riuers, but these three before rehearsed, and the fower braunches of *Amana*, all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken vp fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards *Guiana*, (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of *Orenoque* fashione into Ilandes,) there are but one sort of people called *Tiuitiuas*, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called *Ciawary*, the other *Waraweeti*, and those warre one with the other.

¶ On the hithermost part of *Orenoque*, as at *Toparimaca*, and *Winicapora*, those are of a nation Called *Nepoios*, and are of the followers of *Carapana*, Lorde of *Emeria*. Betweene *Winicapora* and the port of *Morequito* which standeth in *Aromaia*, and all those in the valley of *Amariocapana* are called *Orenoqueponi*, and did obey *Morequito*, and are nowe followers of *Topiawari*. Vpon the riuer of *Caroli*, are the *Canuri*, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that prouince) who came farre off to see our nation, and asked mee diuers questions of her Maiesty, beeing much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnes, and wondring at such reports as we truely made of her highnes many vertues. And vpon the head of *Caroli*, and on the lake of *Cassipa*, are the three strong nations of the *Cassipagotos*. Right south into the land are the *Capurepani*, and *Emparepani*, and beyond those adioyning to *Macureguarai*, (the first Citie of *Inga*,) are the *Iwarawakeri*: all these are professed enemies to the Spanyardes, and to the rich *Epuremei* also. To the west of *Caroli* are diuers nations of *Canibals*, and of those *Ewaipanoma* without heades. Directly west are the *Amapaia*s and *Anebas*, which are also marueilous rich in gold. The rest towards *Peru* wee will omit. On the north of *Orenoque*, betweene it and the west Indies are the *Wikiri*, *Saymi*, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spanyardes. On the south side of the maine mouth of *Orenoque*, are the *Arwacas*: and beyond them the *Canibals*: and to the south of them the *Amazones*.

¶ To make mention of the seuerall beasts, birds, fishes, fruites, flowers, gummes, sweete woodes, and of their seuerall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of *Gesnerus*, and for the rest another bundle of *Decades*. The religion of the *Epuremei* is the same which the *Ingas*, Emperors of *Peru* vsed, which may be red in *Cieca*, and other Spanish stories, howe they beleeeue the immortalitie of the Soule, worship the Sunne, and bury with them aliue their best beloued wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in *Pegu* in the east Indies, and other places. The *Orenoqueponi* bury not their wiues with them, but their Jewels, hoping to inioy them againe. The *Arwacas* dry the bones of their Lordes, and their wiues and friendes drinke them in powder. In the graues of the *Peruuians*, the Spanyardes founde their greatest abundance of treasure: The like also is to be found among these people in euery prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lordes fiue folde to the common sort: their wiues neuer eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbandes at meales, and afterwardes feede by themselues. Those that are past their yonger yeares, make all their breade and drinke, and worke their cotten beddes, and doe all else of seruice and labour, for

the men doe nothing but hunte, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the wars¹.

¶ I wil enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I haue not my selfe seene the cities of *Inga*, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in *Guiana*, as his auncestors did in *Peru*, which were for their riches and rarenes most marueilous and exceding al in *Europe*, and I thinke of the world, *China* excepted, which also the Spanyards (which I had) assured me to be of trueth, as also the nations of the borderers, who being but *Saluaio*s, to those of the Inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them, for I was enformed of one of the *Cassiqui* of the valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him a little before our arriual, a chaire of Golde most curiously wrought, which was made eyther in *Macureguarai* adioyning, or in *Manoa*: But if wee shoulde haue griued them in their religion at the first, before they had beene taught better, and haue digged vppe their graues, wee had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her maiesty should eyther accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing shoulde be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if *Peru* had so many heapes of Golde, whereof those *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liueth and raigeth in *Manoa*, hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of Golde, within his territorie, then all *Peru*, and the west Indies.

¶ For the rest, which my selfe haue seene I will promise these things that follow and knowe to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this riuier, which bringeth forth so many armes and branches leading to seuerall countries, and prouinces, aboue 2000 miles east and west, and 800 miles south and north: and of these, the most eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes. The common soldier shal here fight for gold, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode, wheras he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Those commanders and Chieftaines, that shoote at honour, and abundance, shal find there more rich and bewtifull cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more sepulchers filled with treasure, then either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pazzarro* in *Peru*: and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey

¹ These habits of the Guiana Indians remain the same to-day. See Farabee (*The Central Caribs* and *The Central Arawaks*, *passim*).

which yeeldeth more pleasure to the Inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, then *Guiana* doth. It hath so many plaines, cleare riuers, abundance of Phesants, Partridges, Quails, Rayles, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deare of all sortes, Porkes, Hares, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other sortes of beastes, eyther for chace, or foode. It hath a kinde of beast called *Cama*, or *Anta*, as bigge as an English beefe, and in greate plenty¹.

¶ To speake of the seuerall sortes of euery kinde, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omitte them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches, I am resolued it cannot bee equalled by any region eyther in the east or west. Moreouer the countrey is so healthfull, as 100 persons and more, which lay (without shift most sluttishly, and were euery day almost melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartos*, and of al sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open ayre euery night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found anie *Callentura*, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hote regions, and so nere the Equinoctiall line.

¶ Where there is store of gold, it is in effect nedeles to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the south part of the riuier, great quantities of Brasill woode, and of diuers berries, that die a most perfect crimson and Carnation: And for painting, al *France*, *Italy*, or the east Indies yeild none such: For the more the skyn is washed, the fayrer the cullour appeareth, and with which, euen those brown and tawnie women spot themselues, and cullour their cheekes. All places yeilde abundance of Cotten, of sylke, of *Balsamum*, and of those kindes most excellent, and neuer known in Europe: of all sortes of gummes, of *Indian* pepper: and what else the countries may afforde within the land wee knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of riuers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the west Indies hath.

¶ The nauigation is short, for it may bee sayled with an ordinarie wind in six weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, Enimies coast, rocks, nor sandes, all which in the voiages to the West indies, and all other places, wee are subiect vnto, as the channell of

¹ The tapir.

Bahama, comming from the West Indies, can not be passed in the Winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perillous and a fearefull place: The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the *Bermudas* a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

¶ This verie yeare there were seuenteen sayle of Spanish shippes lost in the channell of *Bahama*, and the great *Phillip* like to haue sunke at the *Bermudas* was put back to Saint *Iuan de puerto rico*. And so it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yere for the most parte, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of the yere to leaue *England*, is best in Iuly, and the Summer in *Guiana* is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, February, and March, and then the shippes may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in Iune, so as they shall neuer be subiect to Winter weather, eyther comming, going, or staying there, which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) tasted in this voyage by the west Indies so many Calmes, so much heate; such outragious gustes, fowle weather, and contrarie windes.

¶ To conlude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath neuer been entred by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by any Christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two fortes be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue seen, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no shippe can passe vp, but within a Pikes length of the Artillerie, first of the one, and afterwardes of the other: Which two Fortes wilbe a sufficient Guard both to the *Empire* of *Inga*, and to an hundred other seuerall kingdomes, lying within the said Riuer, euen to the citie of *Quito* in *Peru*.

¶ There is therefore great difference betwene the easines of the conquest of *Guiana*, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: *Guiana* hath but one entraunce by the sea (if it haue that) for any vessels of burden, so as whosoeuer shall first possesse it, it shall bee founde vnaccessable for anie Enimie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Canoas*, or els in flatte bottomed boats, and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke 200 miles together vppon the riuers of such entraunce, as a mouse cannot sitte in a boate vnhit from the banke. By land it is more impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest situation of anie region vnder the Sunne, and is so enuironed with impassable

mountaynes on euerie side, as it is impossible to victuall anye companie in the passage, which hath beene well proued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of *Peru* haue neuer left fīue yerres free from attempting this Empire, or discouering some way into it, and yet of 23 seuerall gentlemen, knights, and noble men, there was neuer anie that knewe which way to leade an armie by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the said countrie. *Oreliano*, of which the riuier of *Amazones* taketh name was the first, and *Don Anthonio de Berreo* (whome we displaced) the last: and I doubt much, whether hee himselfe or any of his, yet knowe the best waie into the saide Empyre. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength bee formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or galleys buylt, and furnished vpon the riuier within: The west Indies hath many portes, watring places, and landings, and nearer then 300 miles to *Guiana*, no man can harbor a ship, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in hast, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoeuer hearkened most after it.

¶ Besides by keeping one good fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empyre is guarded, and whatsoeuer companies shalbe afterwarde planted within the land, although in twenty seuerall prouinces, those shall bee able all to reunite themselues vpon any occasion eyther by the way of one riuier, or bee able to march by land without eyther wood, bog, or mountaine: whereas in the west Indies there are fewe townes, or prouinces that can succour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or sea: By lande the countries are eyther desart, mounteynous, or strong Enemies: By sea, if any man inuade to the Eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turne against the brize and easterwind, besides the Spanyardes are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in *Nueua Hispania* onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poisoned prickels, the sandy and deepe waies in the vallies, the smothering heate and ayre, and want of water in other places, are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to stay, neyther haue any place to friende adioyning) doe serue them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

¶ The west Indies were first offered her Maiesties Grandfather by *Columbus* a straunger, in whome there might be doubt of deceit, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made known to her Maiesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty

then an ordinary subiect, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I haue receaued to abuse her highnes, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie discouered, many nations won to her Maiesties loue and obedience, and those Spanyards which haue latest and longest labored about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which amonge these nations were thought inuincible. Her maiestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are yonger brethren, and all captaines and Cheiftaines that want employment, and the charge wilbe onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yere I doubt not but to see in London a Contratation house of more receipt for *Guiana*, then there is nowe in ciuill [Seville] for the West indies.

¶ And I am resolu'd that if there were but a smal army a foote in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chiefe Citie of Inga, he would yeeld her Maiesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearely, as should both defende all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he woulde besides pay a garrison of 3000 or 4000 soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: For he cannot but know, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great vncles *Guascar* and *Atibalipa* sonnes to *Guanacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empyre) beaten out by the Spanyardes, and that both of late yeares, and euer since the said conquest, the Spanyardes haue sought the passages and entry of his countrey: and of their cruelties vsed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he wil be brought to tribute with great gladnes, if not, hee hath neyther shotte nor Iron weapon in all his Empyre, and therefore may easely be conquered.

¶ And I farther remember that *Berreio* confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Maiesty of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in *Peru* (at such time as the Empyre was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chieftest temples, amongst diuers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empyre, that from *Inglatierra* those *Ingas* shoulde be againe in time to come restored, and deliuered from the seruitude of the said Conquerors. And I hope, as wee with these fewe handes haue displanted the first garrison, and driuen them out of the said countrey, so her Maiesty will giue order for the rest, and eyther defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empresse of the same. For whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the king of Spayne enioy it, he will become vnresistable. Her Maiesty heereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of al

nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of *Guiana* reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the *Amazones*, those women shall heereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but also to inuade and conquere so great Empyres and so farre remoued.

¶ To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is king of al kings and Lorde of Lords, will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I wil iudge those men worthy to be kings therof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themselues.

An Abstract taken
out of certaine Spanyardes Letters con-
cerning *Guiana* and the Countries lying
vpon the great riuer of *Orenoque*:
with certaine reportes also touching
the same.

An Aduertisement to the Reader.

THOSE letters out of which the abstractes following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spayne in the yeare 1594 by Captaine *George Popham*: who the next yeare, and the same that Sir *Walter Raleigh* discouered *Guiana*, as he was in a voyage for the west Indies, learned also the reportes annexed. All which, at his returne, beeing two monthes after Sir *Walter*, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discouerie: hee made knowne and deliuered to some of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Councell and others. The which seeing they confirme in some parte the substance, I meane, the riches of that Countrey: it hath beene thought fitte that they shoulde be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spanyards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before *Morequito* then Lord of *Aromaya*, and others there aboutes, which thoroughly vnderstoode them not at that time, whatsoeuer the Spanyardes otherwise pretende: Yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by *Cayworaco*, the sonne of *Topiawary* nowe chiefe Lorde of the saide *Aromaya*, who was brought into England by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spanyardes mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their Countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowne and hearde of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there beeing tenne of them sent and imployed for a farther discouerie, they were prouided to receiue and intertayne them in an other manner of sorte then they had done before; that is to say, they slewe them and buried them in the Countrey, they so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession the which before they had but

begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spanyardes as come after. Other possession they haue had none since. Neyther doe the Indians meane as they protest, to giue them any other. One other thing to bee remembred is that in these letters the Spanyardes seeme to call *Guiana* and other Countries neere it, bordering vppon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueuo Dorado*, because of the greate plenty of Golde there, in most places to be founde. Alluding also to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martines* to the greate Citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to aduertise. As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent reader.

W. R.

LETTERS TAKEN AT SEA
BY CAPTAINE GEORGE POPHAM 1594

Allonso his Letters from the Gran Canaria to his brother being
commaunder of S. Lucas, concerning El Dorado.

THERE haue beene certain letters receiued here of late, of a land newly discovered called *Nueuo Dorado*, frome the sonnes of certaine Inhabitantes of this citie, who were in the discouerie: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said *Dorado*, and that golde there is in great abundance, the course to fall with it is 50 leagues to the windwarde to the *Margarita*.

Allonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of S. Lucas
concerning the Dorado.

SIRS, we haue no newes worth the writing, sauing of a discouery lately made by the spaniardes in a new land called *Nueuo Dorado*, and in two daies sailing to the windward of the *Margarita*, there is golde in that abundance, as the like hath not beene heard of. We haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discouery, vnto their parentes heere in the City. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelue daies in search of the said *Dorado*, as I passe in voyage towards *Carthagena*, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities, I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the saide discouery, that was sent to his Maiesty.

*Part of the Coppy that was sent to his Maiesty of the discouery
of Nueuo Dorado*¹.

IN the riuer of *Pato* otherwise called *Orenoque*, in the principall part thereof called *Warismero*, the 23 of Aprill 1593. *Domingo de vera* Master

¹ As mentioned in the Introduction (p. lxxiv, above), this document, which fell into Raleigh's hands (and provided him with valuable information), is a copy of the original which reached Spain in safety and is now in the *Archivo General de Indias* (estante 1, cajon 1, legajo 1/26, numero 33), and a transcript is in the British Museum (Add. MSS, 36316, f. 30 et seqq.). The latter document which begins—"En El Rio de Pauto que por otro nombre se llama orinoco en el puerto del principal Quaremeio a veynte y tres dias del mes de abril de 1593, Domingo de Vera Ibargoyen, maese de campo. . . etc.", is word for word the same in the early part as the document which Raleigh translated. The latter portions, however, are entirely different. The discrepancy would seem to be due to one or both of the following reasons: (i) Raleigh's document was an abbreviation of the more detailed and formal depositions which constitute the original, (ii) Raleigh himself omitted the less interesting passages which merely described the same procedure repeated in other Indian villages. The first suggestion is supported by the concluding sentence of Raleigh's translation, and the second by the fact that he entitles the documents, "*Part of the copy. . .*"

of the Campe and Generall for *Anth. de Berreo* Gouvernour and Captaine generall for our Lorde the King, betwixt the riuers of *Pato* and *Papamene* alias *Orenoque*, and *Marannon*, and of the Iland of *Trinidado*, in presence of me *Rodrigo de Caranca* register for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawne together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and soldiers, and master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said vnto them; Sirs, Soldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our Generall *Anth. de Berreo*, with the trauell of 11 yeares, and expence of more then 100000 pesoes of Gold, discovered the noble prouinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado*: Of the which hee tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessary munition, he issued at the Iland of *Margarita*, and from thence peopled the *Trinidado*. But now they had sente me to learne out and discover the ways most easily to enter, and to people the saide prouinces, and where the Campes and Armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I entend so to do in the name of his Maiesty, and the said gouernour *Antho. de Berreo*, and in token thereof I require you *Fran. Carillo* that you aide me to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towards the east, and the said Master of the Campe, the Captains and soldiers kneeled down and did due reuerence vnto the said crosse, and thereupon the Master of the Campe tooke a bole of water and dranke it of, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword and cut the grasse of the ground, and the boughs of the trees saying I take this possession in the name of the king *Don Phillip* our master, and of his gouernour *Antho. de Berreo*: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere that in these our actions was present the *Casique* or principal *Don Antho.* otherwise called *Morequito*, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad there of, and gaue his obedience to our Lord the King, and in his name to the said gouernour *Antho. de Berreo*. And the said Master of the Campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and soldiers saide that the possession was wel taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoeuer would say the contrary. And the saide master of the Camp hauing his sword drawen in his hand said vnto me, register that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the gouernour *Antho. de Berreo* and if it be needfull I wil take it a new. And I require you all that are present to witnes the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de vera *and vnderneath, Before me Rodrigo de Caranca,*
Register of the Army.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and discouery of the way and prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yere, the Master of the Campe entred by little and little with all the Campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the Inland, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of *Antho: Bisante* the Interpreter¹ that his Maiesty and *Antho: de Berreo* had sent him to take the said possession. And the said fryer *Francis Carillo* by the Interpreter, deliuered him certain thinges of our holy Catholique faith, to al which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would becom Christians, and that with a very good wil they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*, who was his Master. Thereupon the said master of the Campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on ende toward the east, and requested the whole Campe to witnesse it and *Domingo de vera* firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done, and vnderneath, before me Rodrigo Caranca,
Register of the Army.

THE first of May they prosecuted the saide possession and discouery to the towne of *Carapana*. From thence the said Master of the Campe passed to the towne of *Toroco* whose principall is called *Topiawary* beeing fife leagues farther within the land then the first nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the interpreter they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiesty and the said *Corrigidor* commanded them to take the possession of that land, and that they should yeeld their obedience to his Maiesty, and to his *Corrigidor*, and to the Master of the Campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the midle of his towne. Whereunto the said *Cassique* answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our Lorde the King, and of the saide Gouernour *Antho: de Berreo* whose vassale he would be.

¶ The fourth of May² we came to a prouince about fife leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and mette vs in peaceable manner: and hee is called Renato, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much

¹ The original document provides the correct spelling of the interpreter's name, i.e. Antonio Viçente. (Add. MSS, 36316, f. 32b.)

² At this point Raleigh's narrative diverges from the other, which under 4 May merely records the taking possession of the "*aguada de Aguaraçana*." There is no mention of the Borachera.

gould, and the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered from a prouince not passing a daies iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sunne, and so much gold as all yonder plaine will not containe it. In which Countrie (when they enter into the *Borachera*) they take of the said gold in dust and annoint themselves all other therewith to make the brauer shewe, and to the end the gold may couer them, they annoint their bodies with stamped hearbs of a gluenous substance: and they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them they would ayd vs, but they were such infinite number as no doubt they woulde kill vs. And being asked how they got that same gold, they told vs they went to a certaine downe or plaine and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote, which done, they tooke of the earth, putting in greate buckets which they carried to wash at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their *Boracheras* and that which was in peeces, they wrought into Eagles.

¶ The eight of May¹ we went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a hill we founde a principall called *Arataco*, with 3000 Indians, men and women al in peace and with much victuall, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house and to rest that night in his towne being

¹ It will be noted that Raleigh gives entries for the 5, 6, and 7 May, a fact which shows that he was almost certainly translating an abbreviated account, for the original entry under 7 May is particularly interesting. It is as follows: "Salio el dicho Maese de Campo y ffue por el valle de santa Cruz adelante ques un valle que tendra cinco leguas con grandes poblaciones a la una banda y de la otra y llego al pueblo del cacique Parigua que se llama Carapano adonde el dicho cacique le espero con mucha cantidad de comydas y jente y otros caciques de la rredonda . . ." (After the usual ceremony of taking possession in the King's name, Vera makes enquiries concerning El Dorado). "A lo qual respondieron quellos eran Guayana y consyderado el puesto donde lo dixerón y adonde señalaron llegaban sus terminos tendra cinquenta leguas a la rredonda segun los dias de camino qual dicho maese de campo anduvo y las que señalaron a una banda y otra eran muchas, y que una jornada dellas empecaba la provincia de Macuraguara con que en ellos tengan guerra y quera en tierra llana y muchas las poblaciones juntase que se juntaban tantos para pelear con ellos que cubrian el sol, y que de poco tiempo a esta parte tengan enemistad que antes eran todos unos y los avian vençydo y les hacian retirarse, y que detras desta provincia esta otra que llama Gaygapari y ques de mas gente quellos y estos con quien tienen guerra y que açia donde el sol sale. En aquella provincia ques açia el Marañon esta la naçion de los yndios que llaman Piriamy y que con estos confina otra provincia que por esclavos tienen noticia que se llama Yguaracuyry que passadas estas dos provincias primeras esta una laguna grande salada quellos llaman Mar toda ella a la redonda poblada de muchisymos naturales y que junto a ella naçe el Rio Caroni. A la qual dicha laguna desde esta Provincia de Guayana abra once o doze jornadas que a la quenta quellos andan abra ochenta o noventa leguas y que . . . de la dicha laguna tienen que vyno a ella mucha cantidad de gente vestida y pelearon con los de la parte de arriba de la dicha laguna y la subjetaron y viven entre ellos . . ."

of 500 houses. The interpretor asked whence he had those hens, he said they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that those men had the pointes of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heades, and had so many hens as was wonderfull, and if we would haue any we shoulde send them Iewes harpes for they woulde giue for euery one two hens, we tooke an Indian and gaue him 500 harpes, the hens were so many that he brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee said we woulde goe thither, they told vs they were now in their *Borachera* and would kill vs, we asked the Indian, that brought the hens if it were true, he said it was most tru. We asked him how they made their *Borachera*, he saide they had many Eagles of Gold hanging on their breasts and pearls in their eares, and that they daunced being al couered with Gold. The Indian said vnto vs, if we would se them, we should giue him some hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The Master of the Camp gaue him one hatchet (he would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke gold) he brought vs an Eagle that wayed 27 pounds of good Gold. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making shew not to regarde it. About midnight came an Indian and saide vnto him, giue me a pickaxe and I will tel thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe, the Interpretor told the Master of the Campe who commaunded one to be giuen him, he then told vs those Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the master of the campe caused his company to be set in order, and began to march. The 11 day of May, we went about 7 leagues from thence to a prouince, where we found a great company of Indians apparrelled, they tould vs that if we came to fight, they would fill vp those plaines with Indians to fight with vs, but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a greate desire to see Christians, and there they tould vs of all the riches that was. I doe not here set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goes to his Maiesty, for if it should here be set downe, fower leaues of paper would not conteine it.

The letter of George Burien Britton, from the saide Canaries vnto his cosen a french man, dwelling in S. Lucas, concerning the Dorado.

SIR, and my very good Cosen, there came of late certaine letters from a new discovered country not farre from *Trinidado*, which they writ, hath Gold in greate abundance, the newes seemeth to be very certaine, because

it passeth for good amongst the best of this City. Part of the information of the discovery that went to his Maiesty, goeth inclosed in *Alonsos* letters, it is a thing worth the seeing.

*The report of Domingo Martines of Iamica,
concerning the Dorado.*

HE saith that in 93 being at *Carthagen*a there was a general report of a late discovery called *Nuevo Dorado*, and that a little before him comming thither, there came a *Frigot* from the saide *Dorado*, bringing in it the protrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47 kintals, which the Indians there helde for their Idol. But nowe admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, sent their saide Idoll vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the saide *Frigot* reported Golde to be there in most greate abundance, Diamondes of inestimable value, with greate store of pearle.

*The report of a french man called Bountillier of Sherbrouk concerning
the Trinedado and the Dorado.*

HE saith that being at *Trinedado* in 91. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pounce in exchange of a knife, the saide Indian told him he had it at the heade of that riuer which commeth to *Paracoa* the *Trinedado*, but said in the riuer of *Orenoque*, it was in greate abundance. Also in 93 being taken by the Spaniards; and brought prisoner into the Illand of *Madera* (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a barke of 40 tunnes from a newe discovery, with two millions of Gold, the companie whereof reported Gold in that place to be in greate abundance and called it the *Nuevo Dorado*. This french man passed from Spaine in the barke, and hauing a cabben nere a gentleman, one of the discoverers that came from that place in the said barke had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the said *Dorado* being as they said within the riuer of *Orenoque*.

*Reports of Certaine Marchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning
the Nuevo Dorado.*

THEY said (aduancing the kings great treasure in the *Indies*) that *Nuevo Reyno* yeelded very many Gold mines, and wonderful rich, but lately was discovered a certain prouince so rich in Gold as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called the *Nuevo Dorado*: *Anthonio de Berreo* made the said discovery.

*The report of a Spaniard Captaine with Berreo in the
discouery of Nueuo Dorado.*

THAT the information sent to the K. was in euery point truly said, that the riuer of *Orenoque* hath seauen mouths or outlets into the sea, called *Las Sciete bocas de drago*, that the said riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that *Antho: de Berreo* lay at *Trinidado* making head to goe to conquire and people the said *Dorado*.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

UNPUBLISHED SPANISH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE JOURNEYS OF ANTONIO DE BERRIO AND DOMINGO DE VERA IN SEARCH OF EL DORADO

I

The Services of Governor Antonio de Berrio.

(Letter from Domingo de Vera to the King, circa 1595¹.)

ANTONIO DE BERRIO began to serve Your Majesty in Italy at the beginning of the war of Sena² [and followed the campaigns] until its conclusion, so that he is either the oldest or one of the oldest soldiers Your Majesty has. From there he went to the expedition and conquest of Africa³. Afterwards he served in Germany, and in Flanders with the Duke of Alva where he was ensign to Don Diego de Carvajal. Here, on 21 July in the year 1568, Don Lope de Figueroa, being in the charge of the arquebusiers and musketeers, was heavily engaged, for Count Ludovic [of Nassau] had sallied out of Temeghen [Jemmigen] with two squadrons of lancers and three troops of arquebusiers, who were already enfilading our men. He [Berrio] advised him to close with the artillery and capture it and not to retreat, because if he retreated not a man of ours would escape alive. Thus in times past he gave proof of his promptitude for great deeds. Those who were then his superiors followed this advice, which was the cause of that great victory; for on such critical occasions victory usually depends on presence of mind. The camp-master, General Don Francisco de Bovadilla, who was present with Don Lope de Figueroa, is witness of this. From there he went to the war of Granada⁴, where he was Captain and Governor of Alpujarra, and was also captain of one of the four companies of the Old Guard of the Kingdom of Granada. Throughout this period those who were acquainted with him well knew that his outstanding and distinguished services were constantly advancing him from one grade to another in the profession of arms. In the year 1580 he went to the Indies to succeed to the Governorship of the New Kingdom

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Armadas. Papales pertenecientes á los Generales y Almirantes de Armadas, años 1520 á 1624. Patronato: estante 2, cajon 5, legajo 1/9, numero 2. British Museum transcript Add. MSS, 36317, ff. 385 et seqq.*

² Siena rebelled against the Emperor Charles V in 1552, and was finally starved into submission in 1555. The city was handed over to Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, by Duke Philip in 1557.

³ I.e. the expeditions against the Barbary Corsairs, 1560–64.

⁴ The Moorish revolt in the mountains of Granada, 1568–71.

[of Granada] which he inherited through his wife, niece of the Adelantado Gonzalo Ximenez. There he did not wait to entertain his own person and advance his property, because with the fresh circumstance of wealth, new and more lofty thoughts were born within him. For the first time he understood the enterprise of El Dorado, in pursuit of which he has spent fifty thousand golden pesos of his property. He travelled with many men for seventeen months, and saw the Cordillera of El Dorado so much desired by all the captains who have been lost in search of it. But the unsurmountable difficulties presented by the deserted nature of the country, the lack of supplies, the excess of disease, and the discord prevailing among the men who were worn out and incredulous, were the reasons why he returned disconcerted to the New Kingdom of Granada.

* * * * *

¶ [Domingo de Vera goes on to give a florid and laudatory account of Berrio's subsequent travels in search of El Dorado into which it is not necessary to follow him, the careful and more detailed narratives of Berrio himself being reproduced *in extenso* below. He concludes by defending his chief against the calumnies of the neighbouring governors, who, because Berrio had put a stop to their practice of hunting the Indians of Trinidad for slaves, were taking their revenge by insinuating that Raleigh's capture of that Island and seizure of Berrio had been due to the latter's cowardice and treachery.]

* * * * *

¶ With regard to these tales one thing must be considered and it is this: that those who were responsible for them were either not present, and say what they neither know nor witnessed, or if they were with the Governor Antonio de Berrio when he was taken, were among those who fled and forsook him, leaving him alone. So, having committed the misdemeanour of taking flight and infamously forsaking their chief, they try to excuse it by laying the blame upon him; for the soldiers who absented themselves before the event could not relate what they did not see. And this is an evident matter, since twenty-four soldiers who did not flee and remained with him were all killed. And anyone who keeps an open mind to listen to the Governor, when God shall have been served by his liberation, or to hear the verdict of time which is the discoverer of truth, will find that one is not justified in condemning a man who cannot defend himself. Moreover, it might be asked what a man of seventy years of age was to do with twenty-four men, where there was neither fort, munitions, artillery, horse, or stores, being three leagues from the navy, without news, or suspicion or any kind of conjecture [as to what was happening]. What reason could the enemy have for going there? Furthermore, the men whom he sent to reconnoitre (as those who deserted confess) did not follow the orders that he had given them. The prudence and valour of a commander is of little avail when all his soldiers either flee or do not obey.

DOMINGO DE YBARGOIEN Y VERA

II

*Letter from Berrio to the King, narrating his first Journey in Search of El Dorado. (24 May 1585.)*¹

Catholic and Royal Majesty:

For forty years I have served our Lord the Emperor and your Majesty in the wars in Germany, Barbary, Italy and Flanders, and more recently under your Majesty's command in the Granada war in Spain. To the services I have rendered during this time it is unnecessary to refer, as they are known to our most Christian King; and I have reported upon them. When advancing age demanded rest, I came to the Indies to inherit the estates of the Adelantado of this new Kingdom of Granada, which he discovered, conquered, and colonised, and by Warrant of Your Majesty bequeathed to my wife, who is a daughter of his sister and of Colonel Hernando de Oruña, who for so many years served Your Majesty. On arrival in this Kingdom, and learning the great news of the Dorado enterprise, and that my predecessor had spent three years and much gold in search thereof, and that he had left the charge of the enterprise to me, I judged that it was no time for me to rest, but to do as I had ever done, to serve Your Majesty. I submitted myself to what appeared to be the best course for Your Majesty's interests and accepted the charge from this Royal Council here. The official transference was sent to the Royal Council of the Indies in order that Your Majesty should confirm it; and this arrangement having been made with me, I was obliged to undertake the journey at my own cost without any outlay whatever to Your Majesty. Among the clauses of agreement was one that within two years of my beginning to raise the force no conduct should be given to anyone, nor would it be permitted throughout the district to raise any troops whatever, in order that there should be the necessary resources for me to make the journey; and under these conditions, and having full confidence in Your Majesty's name, I began to gather the necessary munitions, provisions, stores and men. But when I had raised and equipped upwards of two hundred men at a cost of forty thousand ducats, this Royal Audiencia requested me to join with Captain Caceres; and because I declined, as it did not appear to me convenient in the interests of your Majesty, bearing in mind the contentions in Peru, the licenciates Peralta and Salazar, Auditors of this Court, became annoyed, and against what in Your Majesty's name they had promised and agreed to, they nominated six Captains to undertake other expeditions, although none were of any importance except my own. They gave to the Captains Caceres and Aguilar three thousand pesos of twenty-two quilates from the Royal Exchequer, and to Captain Bocanegra more than four thousand, and these sums they distributed

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Armadas. Papales pertenecientes á los Generales y Almirantes de Armadas, años 1520 á 1624. Patronato: estante 2, cajon 5, legajo 1/9, letra B/2. Transcript in Add. MSS, 36315, ff. 16 et seqq.*

among the inhabitants of all this Kingdom. Of these matters Your Majesty will find particulars at Your Court from those who were here concerned and on which I reported. In view of this great opposition and the fact that the men were leaving me to join the above-named persons, I determined to set out with only one hundred men; and of these twenty turned back. I crossed the plains, passing mighty rivers and swamps, through many lands peopled by Indians, who were idle and naked and unacquainted with metals. I journeyed on for more than two hundred leagues, and by the Grace of God and his Glorious Mother, and on Palm Sunday in the year eighty-four, I discovered the Cordillera on the other side of the plains—the Cordillera so ardently desired and sought for seventy years past, and which has cost the lives of so many Spaniards. It is so high that I first sighted it from a distance of twenty-eight leagues. I continued advancing until the winter floods made further progress impossible, and I stopped at a distance of sixteen leagues from the mountain range, in a place where I found food enough to winter, and I remained there four months. The Indians assembled and drew near to make an attack, and after I had made overtures of peace which they declined, it became necessary to fight. Some of them were killed and others taken prisoner. Ten days later they assembled in much greater numbers, and over four thousand of them came against us. So, seeing no other course open except to fight, we broke their attack with facility, again with dead and some prisoners, and as they came within range the number of their killed was greater than the prisoners taken on both occasions. Every effort was made to obtain information about the Cordillera, and they all, although for different reasons, agreed in one thing, the same as had been told us by many Indians on the way, that in the Mountains there is a very large laguna, and that on the other side are great towns and a vast population, with gold and precious stones. I asked them if there were as many people there as in the plains, and they replied that in the Cordillera there were many places having more inhabitants in each of them than there are in all the plains, and I declare to your Majesty that I saw and spoke to more than twenty thousand, and where twenty are seen one may be sure there are one hundred. Apart from these two skirmishes they never approached me offensively, nor did I seek to attack them. They departed from the district leaving me their foodstuffs. On the abatement of the waters I set out in quest of the Cordillera, and learning that there was a river 4 leagues ahead on the road which I had to travel, I had prepared a boat to enable us to transport the horses and cattle, for it was the greatest river I had seen in my life. It is called the Baraguan. Within a distance of two leagues, four other big rivers enter this one, and their entrance is hardly noticeable¹. This river, be it understood, enters the sea in front of Trinidad, from whence the voyage to Spain will be short. After passing this river, I remained on its banks to study the

¹ Possibly the tributaries Tomo, Tuparo, Sipapo, and Vichada, which enter the Orinoco some distance above the great Cataract (cf. *Introd.* p. lxvi, note 2, above).

best ways by which to ascend the Cordillera. But owing to the exhalation of the swamps and the fear of the soldiers that it were foolhardy to cross and advance, sickness became so prevalent that I could barely find fourteen in a condition fit to go with me in search of roads to ascend the Cordillera. With these 13 companions (14 with myself) I set out on foot and travelled for ten days towards the Mountains, and owing to the height of the rocky crags, I was unable to reach the Cordillera, but arrived at a rocky and lofty eminence at two leagues distance from it, and on this journey I took certain pieces [of gold ?] which confirmed the information which I had; and with these, knowing that the road and the narrows were lower down, I turned back and descended the river in the boat for about two leagues from where I was then encamped, and found a small and very strong Island, upon which were over a thousand Indian warriors; and being unable to approach it because of the strong current, I drew into a backwater at about musket range. I sent a canoe with one soldier and the interpreter, who understood the language, with gifts to offer peace and friendship. They accepted the gifts and sent back food, and I felt certain that this Island in the narrows was the limit between the plains and the mountains, and that on the farther side lay the open road to the Cordillera, and with this certain knowledge I returned to the place of our encampment, and found there not one single soldier fit for duty; nor could the pieces [of gold] be put to any use. So in view of this disaster and the danger of being attacked by the Indians (in which event they would without pity inflict serious damage upon me), I decided that it would not be right, after having seen and discovered the Cordillera, and considering the valuable knowledge I had gathered concerning it, to venture further to sacrifice my people and myself along with them, and the object of so many years search and which by the mercy of God I had found. So after reflection I came back—with all the people, not losing on this journey more than eight Spaniards, three only killed by the Indians and five who died of sickness. I returned after an absence of seventeen months.

¶ I returned by a different route, which was found shorter and drier and very populous. I came by the margins of the River Meta, and crossing this river travelled along the banks of another called Cazanar which rises in the Cordillera of this new Kingdom of Granada, so that I have discovered the navigation of the rivers named and a short and dry land route. The distance from the Cordillera of this Kingdom to the other beyond the plains is one hundred and twenty leagues more or less. There will be necessary for this expedition, that is to say, to start it, three hundred Spaniards, and to finish it more than three thousand, because the territory and its population reach to the Marañon.

¶ I pray Your Majesty that, in order to enable me to carry out this so important enterprise, Your Majesty will send orders by the first ship to this Royal Audiencia that they shall render me all necessary assistance in raising the men, and not permit

the forming of any other expedition whatever until this one shall be concluded, in view of its importance. I have spent my all in it quite willingly.

¶ I humbly pray Your Majesty, in view of my services in the past and of this one here presented of my having discovered this long-desired land, that Your Majesty will confirm me in the credit of its discovery. For now that its position is known, there are many anxious to undertake the journey which can be attempted by various routes.

¶ Who serves his Most Catholic Majesty is privileged to seek his favours, and thus I beg Your Majesty for the Love of God, that in recompense for the services herein set forth and of three brothers in Your Majesty's service—two of whom were cut to pieces before my eyes and the third was killed in naval battle, one brother only remaining to me and also serving Your Majesty in the affairs of Justice, being an advocate—that Your Majesty may grant to him some appointment in which he may maintain himself, honorably serving Your Majesty. For my services and his and the death of three brothers deserve it, if it be possible; because this conquest, which keeps me so far away, and my advanced age make it impossible for me to return to see my wife and children in order to protect and support them, they being now scattered and shelterless. I pray Your Majesty to send him to this Kingdom where there are appointments open; this I beg Your Majesty for the Love of God, trusting that Your Majesty will have pity on me, bearing in mind my services for the advancement of this Kingdom as well as those of Colonel Hernando de Oruña my father-in-law, and will grant this favour to my children; for of the eight which I have six are girls and the eldest is ten years of age.

¶ I remain occupied in raising men for the expedition into the plains and villages which I have discovered, but cannot set out until the beginning of January which is the summer in this country. By taking a large force I can achieve much, with a small one I can accomplish nothing, and to carry out such a big undertaking and submitting to God so many souls, I beg Your Majesty to send orders and warrant to this Council here, ordering it to help me to raise the men for this highly important service of Your Majesty. And may Our Lord guard the Catholic and Royal Person of Your Majesty, as Christianity has need of Holy Faith. 24 May 1585.

¶ I beg Your Majesty to observe that about sixteen years ago three journeys were made here together, one by Captain Serpa and he named it New Andalucia; the second by Don Pedro de Silva, and he gave it the name of New Andalucia; and the third by my predecessor and he named it El Dorado. All three went by different ways: provinces which I have discovered and whose true name is Guayana.

¶ In order to populate these large provinces it will be of great importance that the Island of Trinidad should be peopled, because it is near to them and the Island is near to Spain and in a suitable latitude for going thither, and there is no

cape to double. This Island will be able to provide people and things necessary to those provinces, and in the meantime this can be done from the Island of Margarita up the river Orinoco.

¶ Catholic and Royal Majesty, your humble vassal and servant kisses the Royal feet of Your Majesty.

ANTONIO DE BERRIO
(Seal)

III

*Letter from Antonio de Berrio to the King, describing his Third Journey. (26 October 1591.)*¹

¶ From the banks of the river Cacanare I wrote to Your Majesty relating how I had entered for the third time upon the discovery and conquest of El Dorado, or, more properly speaking, Guiana. I took twenty canoes, as many rafts, and a great quantity of munitions and supplies and war-stores with a hundred and twelve Spaniards and two hundred and twenty good horses. With this equipment I set forth from the Cacanare on 19 March 1590, taking only a few negroes and attendants. I embarked seventy soldiers and myself with them, and forty-two I sent with Captain Alvaro Jorge to lead the horses. So we travelled, some by water and the rest by land, as far as the great River Baraguan which extends for a hundred and twenty leagues. There I waited till the horses arrived, which I conveyed from the other side of the River, and we travelled in proper order by water and land until we arrived where the River Baraguan loses its name and is called Orinoco. And in order not to weary Your Majesty I refer you [for fuller information] to an account which goes with this. I arrived at the winter-quarters near that spot where, as I related, many men died or deserted. From these winter-quarters I desired to cross the Cordillera in order to enter the great provinces of which I had information from my two previous attempts. During the four months which I spent in searching for a pass I could not find one through which it was possible to convey horses and munitions and ourselves with packs on our backs. The men were so few in number and so ill that it could not be done. Wherefore necessity constrained me to seek another expedient, and I returned to the River Orinoco and constructed four canoes—those which I had taken with me having sunk while going down the River. When the canoes were made, I had all the horses killed for the men's sustenance, as I was completely lacking in food. Therewith I embarked and travelled down the River for two hundred leagues, all uninhabited until I came to a province of Caribs, the villages of which continued for more than a hundred and twenty leagues as far as the sea. Every year these Caribs make two fleets of up to thirty canoes and go up the River to take people for their slaughter-houses; and on that account they have depopulated

¹ *Archivo General de Indias. Consejo—Escribania de Camera Pleitos, años 1597 á 1599. Legajo 1011. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36315, ff. 245 et seqq.*

[the region] for more than three hundred and fifty leagues up the river, which is a very great pity. When I arrived in this populated area they received me apparently with pleasure, bartering with me for provisions and providing guides to lead me to Guiana, the borders of which by the great River Caroni were more than a hundred leagues from the beginning of these villages. This river Caroni has a waterfall which is so great that one cannot pass above it, and so I went down the River [Orinoco] for another four leagues to a province called Moriquito, which is also on the borders of Guiana. I remained in this place for two months, where I learnt that it was four days' journey from there to the great cities and riches [of El Dorado]. I could not go to them because, out of the fifty soldiers which I had, there were not fifteen in good health, and it was impossible to advance with them and also guard the canoes. For if these were lost, all was lost. Before reaching these provinces I wrote to the Island of Trinidad, understanding that it was inhabited, as I had notified Your Majesty that it should be settled and you had replied to me that you would give orders to settle it immediately. I gave instructions that if no Spaniards were found there, the letters should be taken to Margarita; but owing to the fact that Trinidad was not inhabited, they got no further.

¶ At this time the Indians, seeing the soldiers so ill, rose and carried off the provisions, so that I was compelled, in order not to lose the canoes, to travel down the River for another twenty leagues to a province called Barguicana, where they willingly submitted to Your Majesty and gave us food. Here I spent another two months, waiting to see if help was coming. But knowing that Trinidad was not inhabited and that the letters had not gone on to Margarita, and that I had not ten men who could fight, necessity compelled me to go down to the sea and from there to Trinidad, which is only a day's journey. I was determined to remain there and to settle the island, as it so greatly concerns Your Majesty's service, and to re-assemble the men there in order to enter Guiana once more. God and my fortune so willed that at the moment when I began to travel by sea we became separated from one another, as the vessels were small and the soldiers ill and inexperienced and unable to row; and we had no sight of one another until near Margarita. I arrived in Trinidad with twenty men, and spent eight days there, although all of them were ill. I realised that it was a very easy matter to people it, but a very laborious one to maintain it without Your Majesty's favour because of the English. Nevertheless, it is expedient to occupy it, because it is only one day's journey from there to the mouth of the Orinoco, from there to Barguicana four days, and from Barguicana to the borders of the great provinces of Guiana less than eight. Wherefore the whole of this matter remains evident and is very certain. Having seen this, I returned to Margarita where I rejoined my companions. On my arrival there I learnt that the Governor Don Juan Sarmiento, without receiving my letter, but merely on the strength of news which reached

him concerning me, had sent thirty-six soldiers to my aid. It was not God's will that I should fall in with them, nor since my return have I yet done so. Don Juan received me and my men, and did us many kindnesses. He is beginning to help me to collect men to return and settle that region which I have been seeking for so many years, and which now lies open [to us]. If I can gather together a company of people I will leave Trinidad inhabited, for I have to pass through it.

¶ This enterprise is costing me more than a hundred thousand ducats, and I believe it will cost me my life. But I give it all for a worthy employment, expending it in the service of Your Majesty. In order that my desire may be understood, I take with me my eldest son so that he may begin to serve Your Majesty and learn to be a soldier. He bears the title of camp-master.

¶ In order that I may be able to continue this long peregrination which I began nine years ago, it is needful that Your Majesty should send me your royal warrants for the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and for the Governors of Margarita, Cumana and Venezuela, which are close together, [requiring] that encouragement and protection and the requisite help in soldiers as well as in horses, cattle, and most things that are necessary for my plans may be given to me. I pray Your Majesty that these warrants may be sent to me forthwith to this Island of Margarita.

¶ When I drew near to this Island I had news of the death of my wife Doña Maria de Oruña, who was the daughter of Colonel Don Hernando de Oruña (who served Your Majesty for fifty years continuously in very responsible employments) and niece of the Adelantado Don Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, who discovered, conquered and peopled the New Kingdom of Granada. It happened that she left in your Indies two sons and seven girls serving Your Majesty. I have spent all the dowry [of the latter], and for my son, who in going with me is in danger as Your Majesty sees, there remains the succession. By a warrant of the Emperor Charles V, our lord, which is in the hands of the minister Ledesma, perpetual tenure in the Indies was promised to the Adelantado. I beg Your Majesty to remember the services rendered by the Adelantado who won that kingdom, and also my own during the fifty years that I have been serving in Italy, Flanders, Barbary and in other parts, and what this enterprise is now costing me. Considering all these things and that I serve such a very Christian King, I regard the perpetuation of the New Kingdom of Granada and the title of Adelantado which I ask for, and which Your Majesty has promised for my eldest son (who already possesses the said inheritance in the Indies and is serving with me) as being very secure. May Our Lord preserve Your Majesty as Christendom has need. From the Island of Margarita, 26 October 1591.

ANTONIO DE BERRIO
(Seal)

IV

*Letter from Berrio to the King, in which he treats of his adventures during the First, Second, and Third Journeys, and of the Ill Welcome which he received at Margarita. (1 January 1593.)*¹

It is twelve years since I set forth from Spain for the Indies to inherit the estates of the Adelantado Don Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada in the new kingdom of Granada and in the hope of finding the rest which my age demanded. The annual revenue of the property, which was more than fourteen thousand ducats, would suffice for one who has travelled and laboured as I have. On my arrival in that Kingdom I heard great news of the way to Eldorado, and that the Adelantado had required me most insistently in a clause of his will to continue and complete this journey which he himself had left unfinished. This circumstance and my own inclination were sufficient of themselves to persuade me to it; and so I decided to make ready and to set forth in quest thereof. I collected a large force of men and a great quantity of horses, cattle, munitions and other necessary stores; and with this equipment, which cost me a great sum of gold, I set out from the New Kingdom and crossed the plains, travelling through them for more than three hundred leagues by a way never previously traversed by any Spaniard, until I came to the Cordillera on the other side which twenty-three different captains, who have attempted this conquest, have so eagerly sought for. I had a few skirmishes with some Indians, and from the prisoners [which I took] and many others who also came to me I gathered much information about the land, all of which was very consistent with the enormous population and great riches beyond those mountains, over which I tried many times to pass on foot at different points and with my men unencumbered by baggage. But never could I find a way through which the horses and cattle might go; and to try to convey stores and munitions by a long and uphill route was impossible. When the men realised this fact they became so bent upon crossing and seeing a part of what had been described to us, that they drew vigour from weakness and overtaxed their strength, with the result that almost all of them contracted such violent attacks of fever that they became immediately delirious. For this reason and because I knew that the Indians, seeing us so ill, were gathering to attack us, I determined to depart, after having spent seventeen months since my entry into the plains. When I arrived in the Kingdom [of New Granada], I again supplied myself with stores and ammunition, raised men, and set forth once more. This time I went much lower than on the first occasion, and obtained accurate and more detailed information. I made a series of attempts to cross the mountains, traversing the lower slopes for more than two hundred leagues; and in all this length it was

¹ *Archivo General de Indias. Consejo—Escribania de Camera Pleitos, años 1597 á 1599. Legajo 1011. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36315, ff. 186 et seqq.*

impossible to cross them although I tried many times, for they are broad and rocky, full of high peaks and wholly uninhabited. I came upon large navigable rivers and gathered numerous reports to the effect that down the Orinoco the mountains came to an end. While I was having canoes made in order to travel down this river, a captain mutinied and fled with the majority of the men, so that I was obliged to start after him; nor could I overtake him until I had come to the Kingdom [of New Granada].

¶ In this second expedition I spent twenty-eight months in going through the plains alone. On my arrival I found fresh orders from Your Majesty which encouraged me to start out on a third journey, and this time I set forth with more men and much more equipment than on the other two occasions. I set out with twenty-two canoes, accompanied by a large number of horsemen on land; and with this force I arrived at the great River Baraguan which is called the Orinoco lower down. Then I tried once more to cross the mountains at many points, but despite my utmost endeavour was not able to do so. Thereupon, I tried to travel down along the banks of the Orinoco; but this region also failed to afford me any place [from which to make the crossing], although I deviated ten or twelve leagues from the River. For the whole land is without natives by reason of the fleets of Caribs who go up the River and have eaten so many of the population that the others have fled the plain and betaken themselves to the mountains.

¶ By this time the canoes had been lost, and three troops of Spaniards, thirty-four men in all, had fled from me, carrying off many horses; and a disease almost like the plague had killed all my carriers and more than thirty Spaniards. It was now eighteen months since I had left the Kingdom, and as I lacked supplies and the canoes were lost, I determined to make others and to kill the remaining horses as food for the men and to go down the Orinoco. For all the Indians assured me that on travelling down the Orinoco I should come across large Carib villages, and that further down I should find a great river called the Caroni which comes down from Guiana and which cannot be navigated because of a great waterfall; but that a little higher up, where a chief called Moriquita lived, the mountains ended and the provinces of Guiana began, behind which in turn came those of Manoa and Eldorado and many other provinces. Provided with this information, I embarked as the canoes were now ready; and God was served in that the very day I began to travel, his Divine Majesty sent us guides in the form of two canoes-full of Caribs, who were going on a kidnapping expedition to supply their shamblers. These men, who were Caribs of Barima, accompanied me in return for presents. In their company I travelled down the Orinoco as far as the river Caroni, which is said to be more than three hundred and fifty leagues in length. We had much friendship in this journey; two of their chiefs came into my canoe and I handed one Spaniard over to them. They revealed great secrets about the land and confirmed all the information which I had received higher up; all that they had told

me I found to be true. I asked these Caribs why, when they were so numerous and so brave and had Guiana so near, they went up such a long way and with so much labour. They answered me that the Guianians were numerous and very near and might make war [upon them] by land, and so for that reason they preferred to have them as friends. These Caribs came with me to the river Caroni, where I gave them [presents] from what I had with me and letters for the Governor of Margarita, asking him to help me. I had written on leaving the New Kingdom informing him of the circumstances and of the great riches which the expedition promised, and that he was to reply to Trinidad. [I told him that] I had written to Your Majesty and to Your Royal Council urging that the island should be settled if it had not been done already, and that if he wished to do a great service to Your Majesty, who might be anxious, he should come to my help on having this news of me; and this he might easily do by means of the traders who set out from that island.

¶ The Governor received information that I was in [the land of] Moriquita and took heed of the fact; and this news, together with the curiosity which prevails in these parts concerning Guiana, impelled one Fajardo to go at his own expense in order to find out about me. He collected thirty-five soldiers; but as his and their intentions were very different they delayed for seven months. By that time my stores were coming to an end and not more than forty-five soldiers remained, and most of these were almost blind from an accident which had hurt their eyes, and others were very sick from divers diseases. For this reason and because of the delay in sending help, and in compliance with the order of Your Majesty, which says that before my supplies are exhausted I am to set out to furnish myself with stores and ammunition from the nearest province, I decided to depart. I descended the Orinoco to the sea, which goes out by a great number of arms and narrow channels—so much so that it inundates the coast-line for more than two hundred leagues and the interior for more than forty leagues. The arm by which I came out faces the island of Trinidad, which is four leagues from the Main. I went to Trinidad, and as it was so important for me to see and reconnoitre it closely, I spent some days there. I found it very thickly peopled by natives of a very domesticated race, the land very fertile and with specimens of gold in the ravines. I clearly recognised that if this Island were not colonised it would be impossible to settle Guiana. Having seen and understood what has been related, I went off to Margarita, where I found that Fajardo had set out in search of me seven days before. He met three of my soldiers in a canoe who turned back with him and took him to the actual dwelling of Moriquita. The Indians came out [to meet them] peacefully, but the Spaniards in payment of their hospitality robbed their houses, contrary to the pledges which I had left in Your Majesty's name, and carried off about three hundred stolen souls whom they sold like negroes. I complained to the Governor, who imprisoned him [Fajardo] and then

released him two days later. They leagued together to cast me from the Island and to make the journey themselves. As I was aware of this iniquity and that Don Juan denied it because I was his guest, I wished to settle matters with him so as not to lose my all; for I myself had spent a hundred thousand dollars of good gold in the three expeditions, and my predecessor the Adelantado more than fifty thousand. I was for giving him half of Your Majesty's entire concession to me and more that the island of Trinidad might be occupied at our joint expense, which would be to his sole advantage. But when he perceived that I was very old and had received news here of my wife's death, that my children and estates needed my presence, that my eldest son whom I brought with me was now fourteen years old, that I myself had intermittent fever and was very far from my home, and that any one of these considerations was sufficient to induce me to go, and [further] that when I turned my back the matter could be settled with Fajardo—a man of ill fortune who would be content with little—Don Juan had no desire to enter into any arrangement with me and began openly to do me a thousand mean turns, so many indeed that because of my official position I do not write them down. Having observed these deeds of iniquity, I gave an account of them to the Royal Audiencia of Santa Domingo; but my business, or more properly speaking that of the King, was forgotten. I wrote many times to Your Majesty and to Your Royal Council and to Señor Antonio de Guevera to whom I offered my intreaties (for well Your Majesty knows the friendship that we bear to each other), and from no one have I received an answer. In the interval while awaiting this reply, being undecided what to do, I found Domingo de Vera here, whom I sent secretly to Caracas. I wrote to Don Diego Osorio, Governor of that Province, asking him to aid me; and he, solely for the King's service and for no other motive, supplied me with a number of men, protesting against the roguery of this youth whom it is a pity to call Governor. With these men and part of those whom I had with me I despatched Domingo de Vera who occupied Trinidad. I have eighty very good Spanish soldiers there to-day without having received from this Island [Margarita] more than seven. The whole Island has been explored and an inventory of the natives compiled, of whom about seven thousand have been found and as many married Indians, so there are probably more than thirty-five thousand inhabitants. The land is very abundant in sulphur, maize, and sugar-cane; and the plantations consist of plantains. There is good store of potatoes, a great quantity of cotton, and gold has been found in four streams. They say that it is very good land for ginger; but the best features are its nearness to the Main, its numerous population and its large supply of canoes, so that as many people can be taken for a single journey as we should desire. I shall depart from this Island to-morrow with another fourteen or fifteen soldiers, which will make a total of ninety-five Spaniards. I am hoping that Don Diego Osorio may send me another twenty or thirty with whom, if they come, I shall set off from Trinidad with

seventy Spaniards, leaving fifty behind to guard a fort which has been built there. With these and a number of articles for barter I shall try to penetrate into the interior of Guiana by means of the chief Moriquita, whom I have in my power, and of other chiefs at the actual entrance who are my friends. Against these the Guianians have begun to make war because of their friendship for me, and each day they entreat me to go. With these few Spaniards and a host of friendly Indians I intend to try to draw them into war, which I will endeavour to maintain for a few days. By these means and with the aid of barter I shall try to see and learn what there is in the interior. Once equipped with this information and a quantity of gold, there will be no lack of men. It is only because my home is so far away and this Governor does his utmost to hinder people from assisting me, that I have not completed the discovery nor begun to take possession of the greatest grandeur and wealth that the world holds. In a place as great as Seville where they have so many just tribunals and so much information about these great provinces, they will want to know the reason why the entrance has not been discovered, it being so near. I shall state my opinion in this matter. These great Provinces lie between two very great rivers, that of the Amazon and the Orinoco. The Amazon comes down from Peru, and the sources of the Orinoco flow down from Quito, gathering all the springs of the New Kingdom which run down into the plains, which is where I embarked. There enters into this river a large number of tributaries bearing a great volume of water. The reason why the Orinoco appears small on entering the sea, while being so great, is that where the River Caroni (which is the one that flows down from Guiana) joins with it, the Orinoco is divided into seven arms from each of which flow out a great number of channels, and each arm and channel enters the sea independently. Owing to this and to the ocean-tide the coast is inundated for many leagues, and the interior is flooded for forty leagues. This circumstance prevents any vessel from entering unless it be small and fitted with oars. Men have entered through these channels to trade, and not finding the towns near the water, have probably imagined that they were further up, and the Indians have said that they were further up to get rid of them from their houses; so they have travelled without finding anything and have returned. But the Indians tell the truth, because the great towns and the riches are very much further up from the border country of Moriquita; but it is not possible to enter there, and the beginning of the large towns is more than sixty leagues inland. As I have travelled down the streams and circumvented the mountains (more than seven hundred leagues by land and by water) on the three occasions when I made the entry, and have spent ten years in continuous labours, I am well informed and know the facts.

¶ From the mouth of the River Amazon to that of the Orinoco the map indicates more than four hundred leagues in all this latitude and more than one thousand five hundred in longitude, in which there is not a single Spanish habita-

tion. There are many stories, with which everyone is acquainted (for it is spoken of as a matter of certainty), that the Inca Kings of these Provinces came forth to conquer Peru, and afterwards, owing to quarrels arising between two brothers, the one, from fear of the other, returned, fleeing to these Provinces. I came across specimens of gold in every district during my journey of seven hundred leagues and more in skirting the mountains, and when I asked whence they brought it, they all said from the other side of the mountains, and exaggerated the quantity so greatly that it is an incredible thing.

¶ In ten years of wandering I have not experienced such great hardship as in the fifteen months that I have been in this Island, and in all those months I have collected less than a hundred men, and these at their weight in gold—a commodity which I have lacked as my home is so far away and my estates heavily pledged. The chief difficulty is the opposition which I have encountered from Don Juan, which is such that, if the authority which I bear from the King were not so ample, he would have cast me out of the land. Throughout my stay in this Island I have not found a thing that gives me content save only in hearing all alike speak well of Your Majesty. Although it is many years since I left Segovia, it gives me very great satisfaction, considering who I am and that it is my birth place, to hear well of those who were born in it. It is the great affection that I bear to Your Gracious Majesty and my desire to serve and to maintain a long friendship with you which has compelled me to send this long narrative. It has been sent to no one but to the Royal Council, so that through the medium of Your Majesty the President of the Contratacion may see it, as well as the curious who will be eager to learn how this enterprise is faring and what an easy matter its completion will be—provided that Your Majesty sends me an order that I am not to be hindered in the discovery by people who might wish to go there themselves. Furthermore, I desire Your Majesty to be informed of the settlement of Trinidad, and how fertile the land is, and that if God helps me to occupy Guiana, Trinidad will be the richest commercial centre of the Indies. In order that some may be induced to come thither, I desire a public proclamation may be made of its settlement. Among other favours that Your Majesty does me is to permit me to have two ships of not more than two hundred tons for a term of five years to bring all necessary stores, munitions, and other requisite provisions to my government. [According to the grant] these ships may come both together or each by itself, and either in a convoy or independently, as I may prefer; and I may appoint the master and pilot, notwithstanding that they may not be pressed for service if they belong to Your Majesty's dominions. Also the cargoes of these ships are to be free from import and export duties, penalties, and all the usual imposts. Hitherto, I have not been able to enjoy this favour because I had no government, nor shall I use it at present because the Island of Trinidad needs but little. But as I say above, I shall enter into Guiana without delay, and if it is one twentieth part of what is believed it

will be richer than Peru. Then I shall despatch a suitable person to confirm this and other favours.

¶ He will go to Your Gracious Majesty, instructed in matters concerning Seville; and if you do me the favour of [granting] five hundred licences for negroes, exempt from all taxes pertaining to Your Majesty, all will be negotiated in a short space of time.

¶ Arrangements must be made with some merchant, who is not a buccaneer but a man of courage and substance, to collect a large consignment of articles for barter, consisting of axes (which should be good ones), cutlasses, gilded knives, a number of short coats, beads of "taguache" (?) (and no other, for turquoise and coral are of no use), trumpets, needles, headgear, bells, small mirrors, and some large and well-made ones for the chiefs. Now at the present stage this is essential, because such methods are called for when the conquest of the land is impossible for a long time to come. Therefore I say that although the people of Castile will invest ten thousand ducats within twelve months, I desire Your Gracious Majesty to become an investor yourself before I discover gold. Fifty thousand ducats will be but few to invest in these goods, and in others of more bulk five hundred thousand.

¶ May God bring us to that time when there shall be a desire among the traders to come to Trinidad: may Your Majesty promise them and engage your word as a Castilian gentleman that they will be encouraged. May I have reason to have that city [Seville] called the 'City of Truth' to differentiate it from Margarita, which by reason of those who govern it, is called the 'City of Falsehood.'

¶ Many other things I had to say, but when I have entered Guiana I shall inform Your Majesty at length by the first despatches which I shall send you. If God gives me good fortune, I shall be there; but as I have not yet reached it, I do not wish to ask for anything except that letters may be written by Your Majesty to Señor Antonio de Guevara, to whom I am now writing under cover of the royal despatches. I am sending my petition to all quarters, entreating that the commission which I have asked for may be sent me.

¶ After writing this, Francisco de Vides arrived with a hundred and fifty men, [saying] that he bore the title of Governor of Cumana, of Trinidad, and of other Provinces. As regards Trinidad I cannot, in accordance with Your Majesty's orders, deliver it to him without definite command and unless he brings a special warrant ordering me to hand it over immediately. Notwithstanding the great sums which I have expended I cannot tell what will be the end of all these matters, and so I am unable to add to the information which I have already given in order to fulfil the behests of Your Royal Council.

¶ This Governor is so solicitous about his visitations that I fear that the letters which I have written have not reached the Royal Council. May it please God

that these arrive, seeing that I am in such a little island, where he is such a lord that he does what he lists without considering that there is a God and a King. I beg Your Majesty that this letter may be shown to the President in order that, should perchance the others fail to turn up, this one may serve to explain what I am doing and what an injury has been done me in sending Francisco de Vides. If only he were a soldier or a man of spirit, but Your Majesty knows what he is; and I am certain that the men whom he leads will desert him within a month, each one fending for himself without doing anything worth while. May Our Lord preserve Your Majesty. From Margarita the first of January 1593.

ANTONIO DE BERRIO
(Seal)

V

*Letter from Don Juan Sarmiento de Villandrando, Governor of Margarita, to the King reporting the Arrival of Antonio de Berrio. (24 October 1591.)*¹

Señor,

After writing to Your Majesty there arrived in this Island your Governor of the Provinces of El Dorado, Antonio de Berrio, at the end of the third journey which he has made into the interior, seeking the said Provinces. He has been so unfortunate, and has followed a route so contrary to the one which he ought to take, that he has always been obliged to depart disconcerted and disheartened by the many hardships and great hunger that has been suffered, and always leaving half his men dead by reason of the aforesaid causes. Wherefore, on travelling down from the Kingdom [of New Granada] by the Orinoco he has been obliged to communicate with this Island [of Margarita]. Having some information from Indians of the great number of men who had died on the said River, and believing that I was serving Your Majesty, I sent him a reinforcement of forty arquebusiers whom Lucas Fajardo was taking under his charge. And him I appointed commander. The said Governor was so distracted that he missed them on the way and turned up at this Island, all his men having died; and he himself remains in my home, reforming [his company] with others and with the aid of some money that I have lent him. So I am reporting the matter forthwith, because it is not right that Your Majesty should be left in ignorance of this detection of error. This Island is so near [to the supposed El Dorado], and there are so many soldiers in it, that if there is a Guayana in the world they know it. Your Majesty may, therefore, be assured that if the said Antonio de Berrio for some reason failed to make an entry, I must do it myself, although without Your Majesty's order, purely in order to undeceive you and to prevent [for the future] such a loss of

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Armadas. Patronato: estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 6. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36315, ff. 269 et seqq.*

men as there has been in this expedition, and so many impostors [from engaging] in Your Royal service for their own particular purposes. With this I conclude, praying God to guard Your Majesty by His power with increase of greater Kingdoms and Lordships. From this Your Island of Margarita. 24th of October in the year 1591,

DON JUAN SARMIENTO DE VILLANDRANO

VI

*Account of what befell in the discovery of Guiana and Manoa and other provinces between the River Orinoco and Marañon (Amazon) after the Governor Antonio de Berrio left Margarita and entered again in order to complete their discovery. (By Berrio, circa 1593.)*¹

The Governor Antonio de Berrio having arrived at the Island of Trinidad, where he founded the town of San Josef de Oruña, that Island being the port for those rich provinces, he collected about eighty soldiers there. More he could not obtain, because many were thwarting him, keeping more than three thousand pesos for themselves which he had handed over to them for supplies. He also gave a contract in the said Island to provide stores, in accordance with which he appointed seventy commission agents, who discovered many natives of the Island. Seeing that the summer was passing, and considering the smallness of his force, which had both to assist in protecting this settlement and to complete the discovery of the entrance to those provinces and get a sight of them, he determined to send Domingo de Vera his camp-master with articles for barter to the value of a thousand pesos and thirty-five Spaniards, who by means of a cacique [named] Carapana, who was a friend of the said Governor, and another who called himself Marequita and had become a Christian, would procure information for him about the riches of those provinces and complete the discovery of the way thither.

¶ The said camp-master set out with thirty-five soldiers and some friendly Indians, and having arrived at the province of Marequita and having set Marequita himself at liberty, the latter tried to massacre the party and prevent the entry [into Guiana]. The plot was discovered, and with the help of Carapana the said camp-master as well as the soldiers determined to complete the discovery of the entrance and get a look at the land, or die in the attempt. Thus he entered into the interior, he and the rest of the soldiers carrying the cross on which Jesus Christ suffered as a badge. He travelled for about eight or ten leagues through small Indian villages, and when he had gone about sixteen leagues, he began to come across dense populations [living] in organised villages with their caciques, to whom the Indians were paying great respect, and who make their announcements through heralds. The population of these Indian habitations ranges from five hundred to a thousand and more, [and they occur] at intervals of a league

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Armadas. Patronato: estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 1. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36316, ff. 65 et seqq.*

and a half and sometimes two leagues. He [the camp-master] went through these villages for about another fifteen leagues, the said villages always increasing; and the Indians came forth from them into the roads with food of maize, cassavi, fowls, deer, and many fruits, such as plantains, pine-apples, pea-nuts and many kinds of wine of different sorts for their use. And all the people who came out—which they did in great numbers—lodged and entertained them. They are a very fat and spirited race, as they showed. The men as well as the women have their privy members covered, and the women are healthy, tall, obliging and well-favoured. He entertained them greatly and gave them gifts with which they all went away in peace.

¶ The provinces of Guiana begin twelve leagues from the River Orinoco, from the [territory of] the Cacique Ahuyacanare to [that of] Taruca, according to what was seen and by what the natives said. There are probably fifty leagues of thickly populated country, consisting of savannahs, valleys, deep hollows (*calderas*), bare hill-slopes; and they have salt-pits. It is a land of many pungent things [*requemazones*], and all the Indians wear gold in their noses and ears, and on the breast and the fleshy parts of their arms, although they wear it when they are away (from us), as Morequita had given them to understand that they should hide it. Many other provinces border on the province of Guiana, and from this port, where the force arrived, a vast number of settlements of formed villages begin; and according to what all the natives said and what was seen and could be understood, the whole land in every direction is very thickly populated and without any uninhabited districts.

¶ Eleven days' journey from where the Spaniards arrived they say there is a very large lake, which is called the land of Manoa, around which there are a vast number of clothed people, and towns and lords, who arrived there about twenty years ago, and a multitude of people accoutred with small bows, who fought with those of the lake and have been subduing a great part of that nation. These they say are in such great numbers that, judging by the populations of the towns which were seen at the entrance of Guiana and what they say of the rest, it is understood that there are more than two million Indians. All the land of Guiana consists of savaunahs situated between mountains in valleys, which are from four to eight and more leagues in length, and in breadth from two to three. They say the lake is close to the Sierra which is on the right hand, extending [through] Guiana away from the Cordillera which the Spaniards saw, and faces south. It is a land devoid of forest, and the whole province of Guiana is a cool land with very temperate valleys. From the back of the said lake rises the river Caroni, where the Governor took possession. In [the neighbourhood of] this River there is a multitude of people and great caciques, of whom it is said that they all have one single lord whom they obey and revere. The big towns of the Caroni begin about eight leagues from the River Orinoco. In the province of

Guiana they all speak the same language. It is said that the clothed people talk a different language and are a people of many trades, and very rich in gold, which they dedicate to the numerous sanctuaries which they use in the hills and mountains. They will die rather than surrender gold. For this reason Mariquita would not give it and warned the rest that it should be hidden. This was discovered through a cacique hiding away from the other Indians, [because] he had presented the Camp-Master with seventeen articles of gold in the form of jackals in which there was fine gold and with a few eagles elaborately wrought. This man gave full and clear information in regard to all the Camp-Master wished to enquire into. They are a people very curious in depicting with stalks of maize, birds, eagles, and other animals so true to life that it is worth seeing. They use the bow and arrow, with stone hatchets worn at the hip for swords, and many kinds of feathers. All the people wear their hair cut short, except in the case of a chief who has done some deed of valour, who wears it long. ¶ This is what they saw and heard tell of. It seems that God had guided the movements of the Camp-Master and the rest of the people in miraculous fashion, for Mariquita endeavoured many times to kill them.

ANTONIO DE BERRIO
(Seal)

VII

Letter from Domingo de Ybarguen (y Vera) to His Majesty giving account of the Journey for Eldorado. Dated from this Island of Trinidad, 27 October 1597¹.

Señor,

I give thanks to the majesty of God that the time has arrived when I can give Your Majesty an account of the issue of this Journey for Eldorado and how the matter stands. As I informed Your Majesty, I arrived at this Island after as prosperous and successful a voyage as could be desired². Before arriving at the

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Secular Audiencia de Sto. Domingo—Cartas y expedientes de Gobernadores, Oficiales Reales, Cavildos y personas seculares de la Isla Trinidad, vistos en el consejo desde el año 1586 á 1599. Patronato: estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 1. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36317, ff. 135 et seqq. In this narrative de Vera throws all the blame upon Berrio for the terrible disaster which took place. The Spanish Government, however, thought differently.*

² Cf. the following statement: "On the 10th April 1596 Domingo de Vera came to Trinidad with his Felipotes, having on board 1500 men and women for the El Dorado expedition. After landing the people on the Island, the six Felipotes came to this harbour (Margarita) in charge of Don Bernadino de Muxica, who took five to Santo Domingo, whence they were to go to Spain, and one to Caracas. The said Governor furnishes from here guides and men who know the country to help Domingo de Vera and Captain Berrio on their expedition, for it is only the shortness of the time which stands in the way of success." (Add. MSS, 36317, f. 100. Pedro de Salazar, Governor of Margarita, to the King, 1 May 1596.)

principal port I disembarked ten leagues away at a number of Indian villages which were friendly to me, and I spoke with the natives who gave me great entertainment. I left sixty-six men with them and a great store of articles for barter in charge of one who has had much experience of this country and whom I brought from Castile, in order that he might go to the place where the Governor Antonio de Berrio was stationed, give word of my coming to the natives of the land, and bring me boats with which to convey the force to Eldorado. This he performed very diligently, so that within six weeks forty-four canoes came to me, in which I sent 470 men to Guiana who arrived there safely.

¶ Then came the man whom I had sent to the rivers, bringing thirty-three canoes and a great quantity of cassavi and hammocks and other necessary provisions, with which under Providence he made everything secure. He was beginning to convey the force, together with myself and the supplies, to the place where we were all to assemble, when six days' journey out from this Town he fell in with a fleet of Caribs from the Islands of Dominica and Granada, who under cloak of friendship killed him and destroyed all the fleet. This was the beginning of a long series of hardships.

¶ Without losing a moment I hastened with a hundred men to wait for them at the mouth of a river where they were on terms of peace and friendship with other Caribs, who go there to distribute prisoners, and to make their sacrifices, and to eat the Indians whom they take alive. For my sins God willed that in the crossing from this Island to the Main, a distance of three leagues, He should give me a hurricane, although I had started in good weather. Therein forty of my men were drowned and the foodstuffs and munitions were thrown into the sea, so that I was without means of pursuing my purpose. The return journey to this Town without supplies was a matter of such extreme difficulty that, after deliberation, I decided to go and see the Governor Antonio de Berrio, as I was half-way on the road [to Eldorado].

* * * * *

¶ He had despatched one Captain Alvaro Jorge (a man of more than sixty years of age, in winter, on foot, and he ill) who went into the country for a distance of thirty leagues, where the Indians entertained him, giving food to all the soldiers. And as he was blind and weak he died. Thereupon the command was shared between the captains, each one as he had supporters, committing outrages. They began to demand gold from the natives, to seize their daughters and wives, and to use them evilly in the presence of their sons. The men became disunited, without discipline or agreement, and when the Indians lost respect for them they killed more than three hundred and fifty [Spaniards]. On hearing of the death of Captain Alvaro Jorge, the Governor sent the Sergeant-Major to take command of the party, who, when he arrived there, found the men so cowed and devoid of plans that he compelled them to come away. He arrived at Santo Thomé, the town which has been settled at the entrance of Guiana.

¶ The outcome of my journey to Guiana was that during the three days that I remained he did not even say by way of civility, "I will supply His Majesty's wants," or anything else that was due in consideration of my good will and labours. Accordingly I said to him, "Señor, will you order these canoes which are here to go to Trinidad and bring a great quantity of provisions, articles for barter, and stores for the expedition, and assemble all the men? I will go along these rivers among friendly Indians who will provide sustenance, and we will have all our men together for the beginning of the summer ready for service." To this he replied, "If we attempt so many things we shall accomplish none." So I returned on the third day to this Town and Island [of Trinidad], having taken five Flemings, whom I found ashore, from a Flemish vessel which was coming to trade at Margarita, Cumana, and this Island.

¶ As winter overtook me, I was without boats and suffered many illnesses, deaths, and hardships, which not to weary Your Majesty I omit to tell. For eight months we received neither letter nor canoe from each other. Perhaps the reason why we did not keep in touch was that sixty men, whom I was sending there, rebelled against me, as many others did on other occasions. At last as a more dependable method I sent a friar, who has made this journey for many years, with a great quantity of necessary supplies. But the soldiers whom he took with him, bound him and dealt him many blows with the flats of their swords. They were for throwing him with a weight tied to him into the sea, but they cast him into a deserted district from which he miraculously escaped. The soldiers went to Cumana with the canoe and goods, where they were received and entertained as other rebels have been who have deserted from here with the men under their command. They have made them captains and honoured their persons, so that anyone who is necessary to us and does damage need do nothing more than go to any one of the neighbouring governors, who will immediately clothe him, give him a passage, and if he should wish to remain in the land, will protect him as he speaks badly of us. It is a great work of mercy according to them, but God restores His own cause.

¶ Since the men had set out from the borders of the land in such timorous, dispirited and thoughtless a fashion, and the Governor and all the rest were so heedless in the matter, the task was an impossible one, even if the iniquity of our people had not been as great as it was, for there were provinces and places which could have been fortified. Forthwith, they began to mutiny in twenties and thirties and rushed down the River; and the sight of these gave others licence [to do the same]. As they were inexperienced in the rivers which divide into numerous channels, and had little food, only three men of all this great number came out safely at the end of seven months. It appears that the general opinion concerning the failure of supplies of horses and cattle from Venezuela (which was the true way and the right method) and his responsibility for the disgraceful blunder which had

been made up country, together with the thought that the fulfilment of the enterprise had been postponed, gave the Governor an illness which endangered his life. He improved a little in so far as God willed, and then his son Don Fernando de Oruña arrived, and six days later Don Fernando notified me of his coming, saying that it would be well that the best possible order should be left in this Island and that we should see each other. I left immediately for that place [S. Thomé], where I found that the Governor Antonio de Berrio had already died and his son Don Fernando had taken possession of the government.

¶ On my arrival I spent three days considering and examining those matters which seemed to me to concern Your Majesty's service. Among other things I knew that the Governor Don Fernando de Oruña was rather anxious about a warrant that Your Majesty favoured me with to the effect that on the death or absence of his father I was to take over the government. But when I came to consider the great sagacity which he showed, his quiet demeanour, his carefulness in setting guards and other requisite precautions, and above all his very good Christian character and inclination to do well, that I was not to undertake the expedition, that it was my duty to remain at his side, that he was so well disposed to take advice in what was to be done, and that he was the proprietor—considering these things I gave him the Royal Warrant, saying that I did not wish to make use of it. Thus everything was settled. It was the greatest service that I could render Your Majesty on the present occasion. We then treated of many things, particularly of the arrangements which we might make to bring in cattle and in fitting together the information that we had from different Indian tribes relating to three hundred leagues of sea coast. And we took action in both the one and the other. For example, we sent the Sergeant-Major to Venezuela with twenty men who discovered the way thither, while I went to the River of Esquibo, where I had most important news of the nation who wear clothes and how they fight with the (same) weapons as the natives of the New Kingdom of Granada and conform in this respect with all the other provinces.

* * * * *

¶ [Here Domingo de Vera digresses to describe how Don Diego Osorio tried to forestall him in the discovery of El Dorado, and then when the expedition arrived from Castile did his best to thwart it. He then bitterly protests against the recent appointment of Captain Gonzalo de Pina as Governor of Venezuela: as Pina was the captain who had deserted and wrecked Berrio's second journey from Tunja, Vera was probably justified in declaring him to be an enemy who was preventing the despatch of cattle and horses, etc., from Venezuela, which was the only possible base for any expedition to El Dorado. Vera adds that he is not making these complaints from personal motives; indeed he calls God to witness that he has not appropriated a penny of the capital invested in the present venture by the people of Castile.]

¶ Moreover, Señor, the events of the last few years clearly confirm what has already happened from the far-off time of the Ancients, whether Gentile or Christian, that when one person undertakes an enterprise and it comes within the power of another to be able to help it, he does not do so because he envies the glory which redounds to the one who does it. This is particularly true of this enterprise of El Dorado, for all speak ill of it, and each one tries it by extraordinary ways. The land is what has been always said of it as regards grandeur and fertility, for merely in those parts which have been seen of the coast and the interior with its rivers there are more than 500,000 Indians. As a proof of this, consider the vast numbers who have died on the borders of the land; and where there are people there is wealth. Furthermore, in previous times a great sum of gold has been obtained by barter, though now the Devil protects them so well that he has made them understand that they must not give it in exchange for anything. Consider too that the way thither is a cold and lofty region, where the people eat maize, which does not distend them, instead of roots or other foods which produce effeminate races, and that the natives of the land give news of clothed people with abundance of coined gold and of their method of fighting with javelins as they do in the New Kingdom. This is true and agrees with the stories of the natives for a hundred, two hundred and three hundred leagues. It cannot fail, nor can there be any doubt of it being such an easy thing and that little profit accrues to me save in following the direct way of truth.

* * * * *

¶ [Domingo de Vera again insists that Don Fernando de Oruña and himself must be protected in their venture against the intrusion of rivals such as Don Diego Osorio and Pedro de Salazar. The only adequate way is to appoint Don Fernando as Governor of Venezuela for ten years, by the end of which El Dorado will have been conquered. If he himself, he asserts, had been Governor for six months, he would now be at the Spanish Court with the happiest news that had ever come out of the Indies, and His Majesty would have been master of provinces as rich as Peru.]

* * * * *

¶ The condition in which we now find ourselves is as follows: We have three hundred or more men at arms, eighty horses with cattle and a certain number of pigs, with which to maintain the city of San Josef, which is in the Island of Trinidad, and that of Santo Thomé, which is at the beginning of the districts bordering the land. We are sufficient to make some entrances into the land, but to reach the heart of the country and subdue it,—no. Given Venezuela, we hold it all, because all the land there is in the hands of such firm friends of mine that some of them come to the River Orinoco just to see me. Many of the natives of this Island are submitting to Your Majesty's service: they are within Your Majesty's territory, which they plough and make fruitful. And all those of the rivers and

coast have already given their obedience. I made a fort in this Island with six swivel-guns and four pieces of ordnance and eighty men which I maintained for ten months with bread and wine and a ration of oil, vinegar, chick-pea, vegetables and fish. But as a large number of men fell ill, the food was being consumed at such a rate that I was obliged to bring the men back to this city.

¶ The injuries which the neighbouring Governors did me in receiving mutineers, their behaviour in regard to the property which was stolen from me and carried out of this Island, assisting them from Your Majesty's treasury, giving them passage, and other inventions of the devil to defeat me, I omit to say. But the Governor Don Fernando de Oruña will do so when I go there [to S. Thomé], which will be within eight days, leaving this Island in the best order I can.

¶ With the hardship suffered God is served. I find myself with all the necessary stores,—gunpowder, lead, iron, and all the other things that are useful to our purpose, as well as plenty of horses to facilitate the journey. So with gentleness and the giving of a few things to the natives which they greatly covet, I have the power to make an entry into the land. Wherefore, I give thanks to God who gave me wealth to enable me to spend all this time [on the enterprise], and for having obliged me to part with so much of my fortune that what I have put into this Island alone was worth more than a thousand ducats. And for the purchase of cattle and other things the Governor Don Fernando de Oruña is very rich. I shall not lack until I have sold the jewels and slaves of my wife and my sons and the homage due to my house.

¶ What concerns the friars has been kept to the last, because I am not fond of dealing with priests beyond what is requisite in serving them and paying them deference. I am sending a letter for the Commissary to Your Majesty unsealed. May it please Your Majesty to see it, for thereby you will understand what is happening. May God guard Your Majesty for many long years. From Trinidad, 27 October 1597.

Your Majesty's servant,

DOMINGO DE YBARGUEN Y VERA

Endorsed: Let all the papers relating to this matter be put together, and let the decision thereon be made known.

VIII

*The Council of the Indies to the King Concerning El Dorado. (30 January 1599.)*¹

Ever since the first discoveries of the Indies there has been talk of the provinces called El Dorado, and it has been said that they are peopled by great numbers

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Audiencia de Santa Fé. Consultas originales correspondientes al distrito de esta Audiencia de 1570 á 1605. Patronato: estante 72, cajon 3, legajo 6. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36317, ff. 231 et seqq.*

of natives and contain vast riches and are very prosperous. In the year 1531 Don Diego de Ordas, Knight of the Order of Santiago, attempted to make an entry into this land in the hope of discovering it and having the Gospel practised there. But nothing came of it, and no better success attended the efforts of others who continued the enterprise, until Captain Antonio de Berrio undertook it in virtue of the capitulation which was made with him concerning the discovery of the country lying between the two Rivers of the Pauto and Papamene at the exit of the new kingdom of Granada. He began to enter by that part and to discover, so they say, the said land called El Dorado. He travelled as far as the Island of Margarita and founded a settlement in the Island of Trinidad, whence he intended to make the journey and enter the said El Dorado by way of the Orinoco to Guayana. From Trinidad he sent his Camp-Master Domingo de Ybargoyen y Vera to give an account of the whole matter to the King, our Lord, that he might be in glory, and to ask for men, arms and munitions. In the year '96 orders were sent for a thousand settlers, consisting of six hundred bachelors and four hundred married men with their wives and children to be given to the said Camp-Master. And His Majesty thought it well to make a loan to the said Antonio de Berrio from his Royal Treasury, with which to buy and fit out a number of fly-boats to convey the said men and the requisite supplies and the other things for which he asked. With all this the said Domingo de Vera set out from these Kingdoms [of Spain] for Trinidad; and when he arrived there with these people, his lack of foresight and bad government were such that the greater part were wasted and perished without having achieved any of the objects for which they were sent and without having gained positive knowledge of what this land contained, for their opinions differed. The said Antonio de Berrio having died in the year 1597, his son Ferdinand, who succeeded him, remained there and with him the said Domingo de Vera with the remnants of the people who escaped; and they are already insisting on prosecuting the discovery of that land, and for that reason have asked the Governor of the province of Venezuela to help them with cattle and other things. And he writes [to say] that he was sending it and has approved of the venture.

¶ During this period, when the said Domingo de Vera had come to these kingdoms [of Spain] and Antonio de Berrio was waiting in Trinidad, some English arrived there, and landed and entered by the Orinoco. They left an Englishman in the country whom our men afterwards captured there, and who was carried off to Seville and to this Court. In the deposition which he made, he says a great deal about the wealth and prosperity of that land called El Dorado, and that he had remained there as hostage for certain Indians whom the English had taken away, with the intention of returning and settling in that land. And ever since the Council has taken great pains to learn whether the enemy had discovered that entrance by way of the Orinoco, and at the present time they regard it as

being more important [than ever]¹. According to the letters of Alvaro Mendez de Castro, an honourable man known to the Council, written from Lisbon, which are enclosed herewith, and a Castilian translation of a narrative which he has also sent, the English have discovered a land between Brazil and Peru which they call Guiana, a land rich in gold, into which, according to the said Alvaro Mendez de Castro, the English have entered by the River of the Amazons and are taking away much gold. Certain things in the Flemish narrative seem to corroborate the statements in the account brought by the said Camp-Master concerning that discovery of Guiana or Dorado. If the enemy should people it, it would be extremely inconvenient; and to drive them out would entail heavy expense. The Council having taken this affair into their consideration together with the inferences which are to be drawn from the papers sent by the said Alvaro Mendez de Castro, it has seemed fitting that endeavour should be made to find out the exact truth of the matter, which can be ascertained by writing to all the governors of the districts of those provinces contained in the said narrative and in the discoveries of Antonio de Berrio, requiring them to use their utmost endeavours to ascertain what truth there is in all these pretentions, for the natives of their districts are in communication with each other. The Council is also of opinion that the Governor of Brazil should be written to, in order that he may learn and advise [us] of the information which exists there concerning these provinces and those which border that land, and whether English, French or Flemish have made any entrance through those parts and [if so] where and in what form, and if any have remained, what their numbers and defences are.

¶ Likewise it appears that it would be well to send two intelligent persons by sea and land who shall go in a ship for the specific purpose of trying to discover and get to the bottom of the entire business as well by sea as by land; and that they should bring a very particular account of every detail, whereby better deliberation may be made as to what should be provided in a matter of such urgent importance.

¶ And in any case it would be fitting to put in some posture of defence that part of Trinidad where our enemies come and are accustomed to use as a port in order to pass to the Orinoco, which is the principal entrance for El Dorado that has been discovered up to the present. And now news has come that twelve ships from England are going there, which may give a great deal of trouble², and that in the meantime all possible measures for its defence have been resolved upon and put into execution.

¶ It would be a great help for all the *Armadilla*, if the decision (which was reached many days ago) to send it to the Islands of Carlovento were put shortly into

¹ Because of Raleigh's projected expedition to Guiana in the winter of 1598-9. (See *Introd.* p. xcv, above.)

² I.e. the expedition under Sir John Gilbert which Raleigh was then preparing.

execution, since it pleases Your Majesty to order [us] to consider and provide the most serviceable arrangements.

From Madrid, 30 January 1599.

Endorsed,

On things concerning El Dorado

Let every effort be promptly made to secure a thorough investigation into the whole matter contained in this [document], recommending it to the attention of intelligent and trustworthy persons. As regards the fortification of Trinidad, it would be well that the Council should say how and when and how much is necessary, and to whom it can be entrusted. As to the Armadilla,—when the ships, which are now being fitted out for patrol work during the coming summer, have sheltered for the winter, the most convenient method may be treated of and order given accordingly.

APPENDIX B

UNPUBLISHED SPANISH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO RALEGH'S EXPEDITION TO GUIANA (1595)

I

*Account of the occurrences in the Island of Trinidad, and of the capture of the Governor Antonio de Berrio. Forwarded to His Majesty by Captain Pedro de Salazar, Governor of the Island of Margarita, with the designs of the enemy*¹.

ON the fourth of April there arrived at this Island of Trinidad Monsieur Raelles [Raleigh], Earl of Cornwall, Captain of the Guard of the Queen of England, with four English vessels of two to three hundred tons, manned with infantry and with four launches and some other boats, and anchored in the port called Port of Spain, where they put ashore two Indians of that Island whom they had brought with them from England, and two others of Cumana familiar with the English language. These called together many of the native Indians of the Island, who that day came aboard the flag-ship, and from them the General gleaned information of the state of affairs in the said Island; where the Spaniards were stationed, whether they were well treated by the Governor, what arms and ammunition they had, what means they had for defending the Island, how far the place was from that port, and what defensive works they had made on the road. When the Governor, Antonio de Berrio, learnt of these things and saw the friendship that had been formed with the Indians within such a short time, he considered that the occasion demanded caution, and sent his nephew Don Rodriguez de la Hoz, who with eight soldiers and twenty-five Indians went to reconnoitre in order to discover what people they were who had anchored in the port. And when the said Don Rodrigo arrived at the shore, there presently came from the flagship a boat with a white flag of truce, and informed them that they had not come with the intention of doing harm, but only in search of refreshment, and that they [Don Rodrigo's party] might safely come into the boat and go to see their General. Under this promise he [Don Rodrigo] embarked with four soldiers and proceeded to the flag-ship, the remainder of the party remaining on shore, giving them of what they had brought in the boat. When the said Governor failed to have tidings of any kind from his nephew, he sent eight more soldiers, who on reaching the shore were invited to go aboard the vessels to amuse themselves and drink each other's health. As they were all good comrades they declined, so there on land food and drink were

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Secular Audiencia de Sto. Domingo—Cartas y expedientes de los Gobernadores de las Islas Margarita, Cubagua y San Martin, vistos en el consejo desde el año de 1533 á 1599. Patronato: estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 2. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36316, ff. 151 b et seqq.*

produced, and they being all as I have described and it now being late, the Governor sent other two soldiers by the road which their companions had taken. Then came another boat from the flagship which joined the others, and a signal was made from the Flagship to the four soldiers with Berrio's nephew and also to the fourteen who were busy eating, [upon which] these were stabbed with poniards and halberds.

¶ Thus they were killed without being able to help or defend each other. Presently there landed from the fleet about one hundred and twenty men, and that night, accompanied by native Indians and guided by those they had brought from England, they set out by the land-road in the direction of the place where the Governor Berrio was, about three leagues distant; and without the slightest warning, they fell upon the place at daybreak and slaughtered all the Spaniards they could lay hands on. They captured the said Governor Berrio and one of his Captains, called Alvaro Jorge, and did not spare one Spaniard on whom they could lay hands. There escaped from this affray sixteen Spanish soldiers and some women who hid themselves in the forest, also a Franciscan friar, chaplain to the said Berrio. Some of these found their way to the Port of Labrea where there are friendly Indians, and from that place they came to this Island of Margarita in a canoe.

¶ On the twelfth of April there reached this Island the said maltreated Spaniards, whereupon without loss of time the said Governor Salazar manned a canoe with twenty Indian paddlers, a leader, and six soldiers, in order to discover the truth as to what had occurred and as to the designs of the enemy. For the one Island is but distant twenty-four hours' journey from the other, and this boat, by order of the said Governor, proceeded to the Island of Trinidad, and had conversation with the friendly Indians and endeavoured to find out where the Franciscan Monk, and the various Spaniards and women were hidden. They [the Indians] confirmed the news as true; and sending them to this Island and informing himself of what had taken place, he reported that the enemy with their ships and launches had gone off in the direction of the harbour at the Punto del Gallo, where they were very busy felling many trees and making defences and a fort, that they had brought three pieces of artillery, and that they said they had come to liberate all the natives who must acknowledge the Queen of England as their Sovereign Lady, in evidence of which they had fixed a very high pole bearing the Arms of the said Queen.

¶ On the eighth of May the said Governor Salazar had information from this canoe which had arrived, that the General had treated the Governor Berrio very well, entertaining him with banquets, and persuading him to divulge the [contents of] the letters which he had written to His Majesty, saying that copies of them had been taken among his papers describing the journey and the riches of Guayana, because Her Majesty the Queen wished to conquer the same and she would be disappointed if he did not do it.

¶ On the fifteenth of May the said Governor Salazar received information that the General intended to deliver up the said Governor Berrio to the Indians to

be slain by bowshot, and Captain Alvaro Jorge to be hanged, if they did not declare the way to Guayana, dragging them ashore with much fusillading. And two days later the said General, with the boats manned by armed men and four canoes with Indian rowers, and taking with him the said Governor and Captain Alvaro Jorge, ascended the River Orinoco above the Guayana bend. There Captain Phelipe de Santiago (who was of the said Berrio's forces) coming with four canoes, encountered the enemy and lost two of them, but escaped with the others¹, and, seeing that all was lost, made for this Island of La Margarita, where he now is.

¶ On the eighth of June there arrived here the said canoe which the Governor Salazar had at the Island of Trinidad, [the leader of the party] reporting that the English had been informed of how he and his companions were going about in that Island, and had been searching for them, and had also maltreated some Indians who had hidden themselves. They reported that the General had returned with his boats and people from the River Orinoco very pleased. The Governor sent two Indian spies, who were in the habit of going among the English; and they declared that although they had frequently been aboard the Flagship and other ships, they had not been able to see either the Governor Berrio or Captain Alvaro Jorge, nor knew anything about them. They also reported that the said General had sent a vessel to England, from which it is presumed that the captives have been sent there or that they are dead; that the enemy are very deliberate and watchful, that there had come to the Port of Spain two launches and taken soundings; and that on a sandy beach near to a fresh water supply, they had driven in some piles to build a fort; that the Indians had occupied the place where Colonel Berrio had resided, and that judging by the preparations they intended to settle there.

¶ The said Governor on the twelfth of June sent off a canoe to Trinidad in order to learn what was going on, and on the fifteenth the same canoe returned in haste, having sighted five sails twelve leagues out, and they presumed they were those from Trinidad, as they were on the course from that Island.

¶ On the sixteenth of June, when the said Governor had made all possible preparations, there arrived at one o'clock in the morning at the Port of Pampatar in this Island, a long boat like those of San Lucar; and on their entering the Port, the guard in the tower which has just been built began to shout and to call to arms, also firing two cannon shots and some musketry. But on finding that he was discovered the enemy departed. In the morning, half a league from the land, were five ships flying many flags, with many boats and tenders around them, showing signs that they were about to make a landing at a port called Puerto Moreno. The Governor then mounted a horse which he had, taking some arquebuses on the crupper, and went thither, so that the enemy did not venture to attempt a landing. Next day in the morning, with their launches and sailing boats, they threatened the

¹ Cf. Raleigh's mention of this encounter (p. 42, above).

Ramcheria where the pearl canoes fish, in order to take possession of it and burn it, but it was defended. Some [of the enemy] who effected a landing surrounded it; an Englishman was taken and in the end three other persons of their fleet. The information gathered [from them] is given herewith. They say that they were rewarded after the expedition up the Orinoco; that they carried away some plates of gold given to them by the Indians; that on arrival at Guayana they had a good deal of talk and became very friendly with the Cazique Marequite, who showed them a place where the gold was taken from; and they brought away from the shore with them four casks full to take to England for analysis. They left two of the chief Englishmen there with the Cazique as a sign of the Queen's authority¹, and brought away with them one of his sons, saying that in the following year they would return with fifteen hundred men to colonise all the country. They also report that they have left a shield or Coat of Arms of the Queen as a sign of possession, and that within a year they will be Lords of the Indies.

¶ They also give us the news that they are conveying the Governor Berrio to the Queen, and that Francis Drake was in London fitting out a fleet of forty big ships, and that by the month of August they ought to be here in order to winter in these parts; that they will bring ten thousand men with much munitions of war, and food, and that their design is to take possession of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Cartagena. But their principal object is to proceed direct to Papama, because in order to ascend the river, they are going to make many flat bottomed boats to bring with them. And this, we are assured, is beyond all doubt.

¶ The other day the ships with their people went off towards Cumana. Whatever more occurs will be duly reported. And on the twenty-third of June the said Governor Salazar sent off a canoe with six soldiers to advise the Governor Roce [Don Roque de Montes, Governor of Cumana], and on the twenty-sixth the said Governor had news that the enemy had landed, that seven men were killed, that they had put ashore Captain Antonio de Berrio, and had then departed.

II

*Extract from a report by the Licenciado Pedro de Liaño to the King. (25 March-12 April 1596.)*²

Antonio de Berrio went to people the Island of Trinidad towards the close of the year 1591. He took twenty-eight men with him, fifty-two more being sent later. With these he founded a town called S. Josef close to the River

¹ I.e. Francis Sparrey and Hugh Goodwin. The whole of this passage, it will be observed, is strikingly corroborative of Raleigh's own account.

² *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Simancas—Audiencia de Sto. Domingo—Cartas y expedientes de personas seculares de la Isla de la Margarita, vistos en el consejo, desde el año 1537 á 1610.* Patronato: estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 6. (An English translation of this document was made for the British Government and is now preserved with the Spanish transcript, Add. MSS, 36317, ff. 61 et seqq.)

Caroni¹, three leagues inland from the port which they call Port of Spain, at a spot where an Indian Guanaguanare held his settlement. He was chief of that country, and the settlement is the best in the Island, because canoes can sail up the river to within half a league of the town. This Indian Guanaguanare withdrew with his men to another part of the Island, and Antonio de Berrio and his people remained in the place for four years, where they built houses, a large Church and a Franciscan Convent. When the place was thus inhabited, Milor Guaterral arrived at the Port of Spain on the 4th day of April of last year 1595. He was Governor of Cornwall, and Captain of the Guard of the Queen of England. He brought with him three well-equipped ships of considerable tonnage, seven barges and about three hundred men. Whilst he was in the port, he sent a message to Antonio de Berrio, saying that he came with peaceful intentions, that he was his friend and wished very much to see him; and as a token of his friendship, he sent him a gold ring with a letter in which he said, that if he needed men or ammunition, or anything else to pacify the country, he would give them to him, and that his men were conquerors of the Indies. He also mentioned that he had founded a town in Canaveral on the coast of Florida, and that he only came to the port to get wood which he needed, and to carry weapons and ammunition to the English who were in the Canaveral². Antonio de Berrio sent him some fowl, venison and fruits of the country by Rodrigo de la Hoz, his nephew, and four soldiers whom he sent with him. The Englishman received the gift and detained Don Rodrigo and the other soldiers for three days. On the fourth day, a Thursday afternoon and seventh day of the month of April of the year 1595, they killed Don Rodrigo and the other soldiers who had accompanied him.

¶ Soon afterwards two hundred Englishmen began to march round the place; and they spent that same Thursday night in the settlement of the Indian Cacique Guanaguanare. On Friday at four in the morning, some of the said Indian Caciques joined the Englishmen and they all marched to the place where they arrived at sunrise. Antonio de Berrio had received no information all this time of their design, nor of what the English or Indians were doing; for although he had sent two sentinels, the Indians and the English killed them and were thus enabled to enter the place, crying out with a loud voice "Peace! Peace!" And saying these words they went on killing and wounding those whom they met.

¶ They killed seventeen of Antonio de Berrio's soldiers in the Town and seized him and Captain Alvaro Jorge. The rest of Berrio's soldiers fled and hid themselves in the marshes and left the Island as best they could.

¶ Milor Guaterral remained in the town for two days and carried away the cloth and goods that were in it, burning all the houses and churches without sparing

¹ Not to be confused with the great tributary of the Orinoco of the same name.

² Raleigh deliberately gave the Spaniards of Trinidad the impression that his objective was Virginia (see p. 13, above).

anything. He embarked at the end of two days, taking Antonio de Berrio and Captain Alvaro Jorge with him; and after being three days in the port he set sail and went to Punto Del Gallo in that Island, where he anchored with the ships. He built a fort there on the shore and landed a piece of artillery, all the Indians of the Island assisting him by bringing provisions and other goods from the country. After he had been there fifteen days, he equipped five barges and sailed with them and some of his soldiers up the Orinoco, [the estuary of] which is situated on the Mainland at a distance of two and a half or three leagues from the Island. He sailed up the River with the barges as far as the settlements of a Cacique called Moriquita, which stand at a distance of more than eighty leagues from the mouth of the Orinoco. He spent thirty days in this voyage, because they sailed by day only. When he arrived at that settlement, he sent an Indian (whom he had brought with him from England) and another, whom he took in the Island of Trinidad, to the Cacique Moriquita to inform him how matters stood there. The Cacique arrived at the end of four days accompanied by three or four hundred Indians, bringing him many articles of food, and offering him his friendship, and declaring to him that there was a large quantity of gold to be found in the country, that he should land, that the mine was a league inland, and that he would go with him to show it to him. He went there and they carried away three or four tons of earth from a mountain and put it on board to carry it to England as a specimen. ¶ The Cacique Moriquito gave Guaterral three or four ingots of gold, telling him that all that country was his and that they would be happy if he would come and settle there, and he would surrender it to him. Guaterral gave the Cacique and Indians some curious things which he had brought from England, and they remained in fast friendship and shook hands; the Cacique promising to give up that Country to him, and that all should serve him. Guaterral promised to return in the month of March of the following year with a thousand men to settle down there, and as a proof that he should do so he left two Englishmen under his charge (one was twenty-five years of age and the other sixteen), in order that they might learn the language, acquaint themselves with the Country, and be able to act as interpreters on his return. The Cacique Moriquito gave Guaterral one of his sons who was eighteen or twenty years of age, and three other Indians, whom he took away with him. They then took leave and the two Englishmen remained among the Indians, to whom the Cacique and everyone behaved most kindly. They gave them presents and respected them. In the month of June of the year 1595, the younger of the two Englishmen, going out into the country in English dress, was attacked by four tigers who tore him to pieces¹. The other Englishman, when

¹ Hugh Goodwin. The story that he was devoured by wild beasts is repeated in nearly all the Spanish reports, and was spread abroad by the Indians in order that the Spaniards should abandon their search for him. He was found by Ralegh at Caliana in 1617, having almost forgotten his mother tongue.

sailing one day down the river, was seized by four Spaniards, who brought him to the Island of Margarita on the 25th of February of this year, where his declaration was taken¹. He related most of what has been narrated.

¶ Guaterral came with his men and Indians to the Punto del Gallo in the Island of Trinidad, where he had left the vessels and Berrio as a prisoner in the Admiral's ship. Thence he set sail, and went towards Cumana, where he arrived on June 22nd in the year 1595. On the 23rd of the same month, at daybreak he landed two hundred men in order to seize and plunder the city. They continued their march until they arrived at the Town where they were met by fifteen or sixteen men, who were without discipline and had no captain to lead them. They compelled the English to retire very quickly and followed close upon them as far as the coast, and killed eighty men. The rest escaped by swimming and as best they could. Seeing this loss, the Englishman landed Berrio, in order that he might send him the wounded who were still alive.

¶ Berrio remained there, where he was little favoured and badly received by the Governor Francisco de Vide. Another day Guaterral landed with his Admiral at a distance of one league from the City, and dined and held close friendship with Lucas Fajardo who holds his offices there. It is he who is on good terms and gives shelter to the English who pass by. He also barterers with them, and conceals them. For this reason proceedings are now being taken against him, and he has absented himself. He [Ralegh] sent him certain gifts and presents, and the said Fajardo likewise to him.

¶ Guaterral went to England, whence a vessel has come which is one of those that used to come to barter in these parts. It brought the news that Guaterral was making preparations to come to these parts with twelve war-vessels and a large number of English.

¶ Antonio de Berrio has gone to the river Orinoco with ten men, whom he took from the island of Margarita, and has settled in the town of the Cacique Moriquito, a distance of eighty leagues from the mouth of the river Orinoco, and thirty men have been sent to him from the New Kingdom of Granada. While Berrio was there and the Island of Trinidad lay unprotected, he sent Felipe de Santiago with twenty-eight men to Francisco de Vide, Governor of Cumana, so that they might settle there. They deserted the expedition and went to look for Berrio either by order of Francisco de Vide or of Felipe de Santiago. They sailed up the river to the point where Antonio de Berrio was stationed, where they had some disputes among themselves, sounded the alarm and two men were killed on both sides. Felipe de Santiago came to the Island of Trinidad and made a settlement with the few men he had, and in the same place where Antonio de Berrio had previously settled.

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¹ Francis Sparrey. (For his subsequent adventures see Introd. p. lxxxiv, note 2, above.)

¶ After what had happened in Trinidad respecting Berrio, a soldier, called Juan de Mumpabila, who was a Frenchman, escaped from there. He arrived and took shelter at Caracas and went up to the city of Santiago de Leon, where he reported what had occurred to him in the Island of Trinidad, and how the Englishman, Guaterral, was coming with a large force with the purpose of burning and destroying all the ports on the coast, and that he would go up to the city of Santiago de Leon to plunder it. But as it possesses so many natural fortifications by reason of the difficult passages and roads through which it is reached, they paid little heed to what the soldiers said, as they held it impossible for the Corsair to reach the City. They also took little care to defend it.

¶ It happened that Ames Preston¹, an Englishman who left England with a squadron of nine vessels in pursuit of Guaterral, got ahead of him while Guaterral was detained in the Island of Trinidad and the River Orinoco. He went to the port of Cumana, where he received information that some English, who were anchored there, were bartering their merchandise with the people of Cumana, and that Guaterral was coming to destroy and burn the City. On account of this he left that capture to him, and went to the port of Guayra in the Province of Venezuela, where he landed three hundred men with their flags. Although information reached the city of Santiago de Leon that the enemy was ashore and was marching towards the city, no one went out to oppose them: nor was there any order, government or defence to be found in any part. The English continued marching for half the distance, being then so tired that they could not advance further, rested and took food. Perceiving the difficulties of the roads, they wished to return. For their general had given them orders that if they found any kind of defence, they were to return, and if not, that they should inform him of what passed there, so that he might assist them. He sent them help and told them, that since they had met with no opposition so far, they could go up to the City of Santiago de Leon, or as far as they met with no resistance. They then went up by a difficult path and entered the City of Santiago de Leon on Thursday, the 8th of June 1596, without being opposed by anyone. They found very little property to take, because the inhabitants had taken everything with them excepting wines, flour and other provisions, which they consumed, much to their own satisfaction. They remained in Santiago de Leon from the Thursday the 8th of June until the following Monday. During this time, they met with no trouble and were as undisturbed as in their own home. On the Monday morning thirty Englishmen set out to reconnoitre the district. They burnt some cattle ranches and returned with the horses and tame mules which they had found. They also set fire to the City, burning a part of the principal Church and some houses.

¹ Cf. Raleigh's mention of this raid by Sir Amyas Preston and George Somers in his *Epistle Dedicatory*. The above account is in substantial agreement (except as regards dates) with the more detailed English narrative printed in Hakluyt, Vol. III, pp. 578 et seqq.

¶ They left an English youth in the city, under pretext that he had deserted and did not wish to go with them. It has since been ascertained that it was done in order that he might learn the Indian language and acquaint himself with the Country. The English returned safely on board, although they had to travel by difficult roads and passages. They embarked their spoils and carried them away, among which were a hundred quintals of Sarsaparilla and five hundred hides which they had found hidden in the road. They then went onwards to the coast until they reached the City of Coro. They plundered and burnt it without meeting any resistance. This carelessness and neglect of the inhabitants deserves due punishment, so that in future they may be compelled to live with greater precautions....

III

Copy of a letter from Domingo de Vera (while in Spain) to the King, setting forth the burning of S. Joseph de Oruña, the capture of Berrio, and other proceedings (1595)¹.

Most Puissant Lord,

Domingo de Vera Ibargoién, Camp Master of El Dorado, declares to Your Majesty that the great and long-standing services of the Governor Antonio de Berrio are very notable, and as he, by the spending of his fortune of two hundred thousand pesos of good gold and the labour of thirteen years, colonised the Island of Trinidad, and from thence made the long desired discoveries of those great provinces, brought them to view and found the entrance, and as he, for want of troops, was unable to attack the entrance in order to found settlements, had placed the Sergeant-Major with some soldiers in Carapana and Muriquite to maintain the friendship which I had established in those places by means of barter, he sent to me requesting me to beg Your Majesty to grant permission to convey one thousand men from Spain, and other things referred to in the petition. And now news has reached me that the English, being angry with the said Governor Antonio de Berrio for having killed some and captured others of them on the occasions when they had gone to the Island, have come with seven fighting ships and have effected a landing and have destroyed some of the citizens of San Josef de Oruña and burnt it, and have taken the said Governor prisoner. In order that Your Majesty may be informed of the great importance of the colonising of the said Island, I may say that the Island of Trinidad is of fertile soil and abundant sustenance, and has over forty thousand natives. The French and English call there, and the Indians supply them with fowls, deer, turtle, lapas, and other flesh meats, as well as cassava, potatoes, plantains, and other fruits,

¹ *Archivo General de Indias. Consejo—Escrivanía de camara Pleitos, años 1597 á 1599. Legajo 1011. Transcript in Add. MSS, 36315, ff. 264 et seqq. (The above is one of a large collection of copies of documents dated between 26 Oct. 1591 and 19 June 1596.)*

which they exchange for knives and trinkets; and there are English who have been going to that country to obtain tobacco and have been taking Indians to England to learn the language and bringing them back with them. There is the best mountain of cedars I have seen in my life, as well as other woods, and considerable resources in the place where they landed. They made their launches and careened their ships at a tongue of land where the pearl canoes were; they took guides and committed their plunderings and assaults, and as the said Governor Antonio de Berrio angered them by his resistance, they sought to devastate this place and have done so.

¶ As for the remedy, I beg Your Majesty with all the humility of which I am capable, that in the meantime true and certain tidings may be gathered as to whether he has been taken to England, and that the living English prisoners taken in Peru, Havana, Lisbon, and other places be given in exchange or barter for him whose person is of so much importance to the Royal Service, so that by his good offices the Gospel may be planted in those provinces, and that Your Majesty may have pity and be merciful to him who is so meritorious.

¶ Also I pray Your Majesty to ordain that all that the said Governor Antonio de Berrio has performed and set in motion, whether in the division of land or in Warrants of Commissions which he has given, as in all other cases, may be valid and shall always have force as and in the manner it had at the time, and when he was taken captive, in order to avoid law-suits for sons and grandsons in ages to come.

¶ And further, let Your Majesty declare that all the jurisdiction of the said Governor Antonio de Berrio shall be confirmed between the rivers Orinoco and Mara  n; and as for the Island of Trinidad, let it be seen to at once that the clause, which was in the agreement made with the Adelantado Don Gonzales Ximenez de Quesada and in that made with the said Antonio de Berrio, ordains that any land at any place whatever, in either of the regions of the said two rivers may be colonised under Antonio de Berrio, and be publicly and clearly declared to be of his jurisdiction.

¶ And because the neighbouring Governors, either some of them personally or by their captains, might enter, settle, and take possession (and, in fact, I believe this has already been done to the said Antonio de Berrio and to me outside the territory), let Your Majesty declare that all that is done or may be done, may be and is understood to be, included in the jurisdiction of Antonio de Berrio, and the said Antonio de Berrio shall be Governor of it all, or his son Don Fernando de Berrio, or the son who may succeed him in the post of Governor. For it is not just, seeing that he has laboured so hard and spent his fortune, that another should enjoy the benefits and reap the reward when there are nine honourable and deserving children; and I ask justice.

DOMINGO DE VERA IBARGOEN

IV

*Simon de Bolivar to the King (at Margarita, 8 July 1595)*¹.

Sire, Domingo de Vera writes to the Council on some matters of importance to the service of Your Majesty, which concerns my duties, such as the frequent raids which these privateers make on this Island, and the events at the Island of Trinidad, and I desired to fail not to inform Your Majesty of certain particulars about them, and especially the Trinidad affair, which is important and concerns Your Majesty's interests, and is as follows: There came to that Island four English ships, over three months ago, the name of whose General was a gentleman named Guaterral (Walter Raleigh), who is said to be Governor of the County of Cornwall and Captain of the Queen's Guard, and either by treachery or some other means they seized the Governor Captain Antonio de Berrio and killed twenty-two soldiers; after which they were [exploring] for over two months up the River Orinoco with three boats, obtaining a certain quantity of metal. Of all this we were informed by three or four canoes which came to this Island to inform us, and as nine more boats belonging to this General were expected, they were determined to come to this Island and to Cumana and even to Caracas and to all the coast of the Main. They were not in search of money but to do all the harm and damage they could in order to gain a reputation. Those who came from there gave this news. They also told of the cruel slaughter of the soldiers, all of which caused us here much concern. The royal [Treasure] Chest and account books were in the open country for upwards of two months, and nothing could be done. Nor could I learn anything of my official business; although the Royal Officials of this Island sent me some convicts from Santo Domingo, who arrived here about April. For there was nothing but war and preparations: by day and by night we had arms at our sides. But it pleased God at this time to send here as Governor of the Island Captain Pedro de Salazar, a man of wide experience in the affairs of war, and no less prudent; and he set to work to make great preparations and entrenchments around the town, only leaving one gate. This he did with great determination to await the enemy to the last man, or until the enemy should be exterminated, frequently sending canoes to Trinidad with Juan Gallego to find out what the enemy was doing. And they always brought news gathered by the Indians, who although very friendly to the enemy and inciting ours to disobedience, were induced by gifts and bribes to tell that they were waiting for the boats which

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Indiferente General Consultas de Consejo y Camara. Años 1595 á 1596, estante 140, cajon 7, legajo 37. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36316, ff. 169 et seqq.* The above report was forwarded to the King with a covering letter dated 26 Sept. 1595 from the Council, stating that it and other documents had just been brought to them by Domingo de Vera.

had been sent to discover the River Orinoco, and the other vessels which they expected. After this they were more careful.

¶ Among those who came fleeing from them were Captain Diego Velasco, Captain Felipe de Santiago, and the priest Fray Domingo who by great good fortune were able to escape. And in the midst of this anxiety, it pleased the Lord that nine vessels they awaited should pass around the north side of Trinidad without falling in with this General, and came in sight of this Island off the Port of Panpata on Monday night of the 29th of May; and as we were as vigilant here, the guards gave notice that they had seen the enemy from the Fort of this City. They approached the said Port by moonlight and sent a launch to reconnoitre the harbour. Then Ensign-Major Jorge Gomez, who was busy there on a fort which was being built by the Governor on the hill above the Artillery platform, ordered two guns to be fired, and when those in the launch perceived that they were discovered and that there were people and soldiers guarding the place, they made off, and anchored in Punta de Piedras, where they remained some days without attempting a landing, and departed thence without daring to land a single man. Here we thought that these boats were not the same as those that had been at Trinidad as they were more numerous, nor had they with them a kind of galley which they had made in Trinidad from a vessel they had captured from negroes and altered.

¶ We are here as watchful as before, and we decided to despatch another canoe to Trinidad to ascertain if the enemy were still there, and also to make known the extreme anxiety from which the people of this Island were suffering—what with so much labour, setting of sentinels, and keeping watch—and to seek means to alleviate it. The canoe returned, bringing the news that the enemy were still there at anchor, and several days passed. Then one day there appeared off the same port of Manpatare three big ships, which passed by without anchoring. There can be no doubt that they belong to the squadron. And after the lapse of about twenty days there appeared four vessels with some launches, which came towards the Port of Manpatare. And on their being seen and suspected of being those of Trinidad, the Governor despatched to the Port fifty mounted Arquebusiers who proceeded to its defence. So the enemy, on seeing so many people in the place, passed on and anchored at Punta de Mosquitos where there was a settlement, and although the canoes, having been advised, had hidden in the River Cabras, the enemy here put ashore Captain Alvaro Jorge, Juan Lopez and two others whom they held prisoners with Captain Antonio de Berrio, who had written many letters to this town. And I was present when we were asked for the loan of one thousand four hundred ducats, at which sum they had fixed the ransom of his person and that of Captain Alvaro Jorge who brought these letters, and who made some endeavours, with the result that the money was found and handed to him by Francisco Gonzales de Lugo. But the Governor would not on any account consent to the proposed arrangement as he considered the con-

ditions had not been fulfilled. The promise concerning him had not been kept: they had broken their word. Thus it followed that after a stay of two days they sailed away, taking with them the said Antonio de Berrio; and they went to the Cumana River, where on the Eve of St John they landed two hundred and ten men and marched against the Town, where they met with such resistance that seventy-five of them were killed. The separate report of this, however, goes along with this, which Your Majesty will see is taken from a letter sent to me by Francisco de Vides referring to what happened to the enemy, the transcript of which was sent to the Council. It describes how some soldiers had been taken prisoner in order that they might be exchanged for Antonio de Berrio; how they sent him ashore without ransom; how he is the guest of Francisco de Vides and is being entertained at the latter's house, and is hourly expected here in this city. A prisoner with a leg broken by a bullet wound has been restored to liberty at the request of Antonio de Berrio. This is what has occurred here this year, as Your Majesty may see.

¶ I wrote to the Council and to Dr Pedro Gutierrez that it would be aiding the service of God and of Your Majesty and to the benefit of this Island and of the neighbouring ports that this Island [of Trinidad] should be populated, because the enemy has departed with the design of returning within six months to colonise it. This is believed by all who have been there; and if it is hoped to colonise, Francisco Vides is not at all suitable nor any other person here. I said that Your Majesty, as a man of experience having so much knowledge of all these lands, could effect it by ordaining that three hundred men shall be brought here, fifty of them married, or even more. They would do well here and would defend the place against enemies who might come and endeavour to colonise it. With fewer people it cannot be done in a satisfactory manner, because should it be [attempted] with fewer, any passing enemy who might appear could devastate it. [I suggested] that Your Majesty should use all means that may appear proper to impress upon the Council the importance of this Colony to Your Majesty. I have also written to Francisco de Vides, that he on his part should write to the Council that Your Majesty be pleased to entertain this project, and I am given to understand that all is well, and it shall be done.

* * * * *

¶ Please God that they who landed at Cumana may come to land in this Island here; for I believe, in view of the excellent order existing here now, that not one of them would be able to leave the place again; and [public] feeling in the town is at a high pitch on having such good fortune. There is nothing further to say, except may God guard Your Majesty for this service for many years.

From this Island of Margarita, 8 July 1595.

SIMON DE BOLIVAR
(Seal)

V

*Report sent by Francisco de Vides, Governor of Cumana, to the Contador, Simon de Bolivar, to the Island of Margarita, of the events in the said City of Cumana on Friday the twenty-third of June of this present year one thousand five hundred and ninety-five; of four English vessels which arrived at the said Port of Cumana, under the command of Guatarral (Walter Raleigh), Governor of the County of Cornwall, and landed two hundred and ten men for the purpose of sacking the said City of Cumana. (28 June 1595.)*¹

The three ships and the launch which had been at the Island of Trinidad, on the afternoon of Thursday the twenty-second of this month came to anchor at the mouth of the river of this town, and on the Thursday night they landed two hundred and ten men from the said launch and four pinnaces. They brought with them an Indian called Juan Caraca as guide, who knows all this country well; and as he knew what he had to do, he led them by a devilish road overlooked by two forts, and they attacked with the fury of demons. Our people who were in the two forts there fired three volleys of musketry, and although the people from the large fort lost no time in rushing to support them, the height was already taken. In this assault they lost six killed, and had many wounded. Without delay the enemy climbed on to the top of the houses of Guana Quintera, and we retired to another fort above the town. Then some from the hill and others from another fort which has been built on the opposite side of the river of this town, came so speedily and gave them such a concentrated musketry fire, that Captain Carofal², the Captain-Commander of all these people, was killed, as well as a nephew of the General of this fleet who was called Juanes Gilberte³, a Captain named Glenfilo⁴ and another, Captain of the little galliot, Thechen⁵. Many more of them being wounded, they became so exhausted, that they were compelled to abandon the height, and began to flee, whereof I was witness. Then as they were retiring I rallied all the people who were with me in one of the forts, and all who were able followed up the victory to the seashore; but some were too fatigued by the prickly-pear plants and other obstacles in the way that I do not blame them for not having all taken part in the pursuit. But those who did so continued their firing, and the Indians their arrow-shooting in such fashion that on nearing the harbour the enemy was completely broken, and rushed into the sea in an endeavour to get

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Indiferente General Consultas del Consejo y Camara—* años 1595 á 1596. Estante 140, cajon 7, legajo 37. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36316, ff. 177 et seqq. (This document was enclosed by Bolivar with his own report printed above.)

² Captain Robert Calfield.

³ Raleigh's nephew John Gilbert, Sir Humphrey's son. In this case, at any rate, the Spanish report is in error. John Gilbert was alive in England many years later.

⁴ Grenville, a cousin of Raleigh.

⁵ Possibly Captain Thynne.

into their boats, so that our people and the Indians shot them down at pleasure; and consequently they left all the arms which they had brought, including muskets and the rest of their belongings. Our people took much spoil from them, and we found forty-eight Englishmen killed, besides the wounded who must be numerous. For I have been informed that twenty-seven have died aboard the ships up till to-day, not to mention many others who are very badly wounded by gunshot and poisoned arrows. We therefore know that the number of English killed amounts to seventy-five, which I am told has caused great sorrow to the general of the fleet. And such are the lamentations of the sick because of their wounds that he betakes himself by day to the Flemish merchantmen, returning to his own ship at night.

¶ All the foregoing details concerning what passed aboard the vessels have been related by the Governor of the Island of Trinidad, Antonio de Berrio, whom they brought prisoner, and whom they have put ashore without [extacting a] ransom, or thinking that I had probably taken some [prisoners] alive here and would treat them in the same way. A drummer who had his leg broken by a bullet was sent back at the request of the said Governor Antonio de Berrio, who is in this house. No others were taken alive. It was the will of God that none of us, neither Spaniard nor Indian, was wounded, which I regard as a miracle, because the musketry fire of those English Pirates was so heavy that it can only be as I say. God be thanked for having delivered us from such evil people. They are still at anchor where I have described. I know not what may happen to us, but I will keep Your Majesty advised. In conclusion, may Our Lord grant to Your Majesty all joy.

Cumana, 28 June 1595.

FRANCISCO DE VIDES

(*Postscript.*) To-day, Friday 30th inst., the Englishman has sailed away in the direction of Macanao. It is said he goes to England, and he does not go away as pleased as he could wish.

VI

*Notarial record by Francisco Lopez Uquilla, Scrivener of the Government, of the arrival of an English Pirate Fleet at Cumana on 22 June 1595, under "Milo Guattaral," whose attack was beaten off with great loss. (Cumana, 6 July 1595.)*¹

Hernan Perez and Diego Martinez before me Mathias de Auryzugo (?) Public Notary.

¶ Affidavit that an English Pirate arrived at the port of Cumana June 22nd 1595.

¶ I, Francisco Lopez Uquilla, Scrivener of the Government and of the Corporation of this city of Cumana, hereby swear and truly declare to those whom it may

¹ *Archivo General de Indias. Consejo—Escribania de Camara Pleitos, años 1597 á 1599. Legajo 1011. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36315, ff. 178 et seqq.*

concern that on the twenty-second day of the month of June of this year one thousand five hundred and ninety-five, there arrived at the Port of this city an English Pirate with three great war-vessels and one pinnace or galliot with oars and four launches; and it is commonly believed that the commander of the said fleet is an Englishman named milo Guattarral [Sir Walter Raleigh], who, on the twenty-third of the said month, embarked a large number of Englishmen in the said pinnace and the four launches, as is stated by Governor Antonio de Berrio, who was a prisoner on the Flag Ship with them. There were two hundred and ten fighting men, musketeers and pikemen, who landed to burn, pillage, and devastate this city. And the Governor Francisco de Vides, as Captain-General of the city, distributed the citizens and the available soldiers among the forts and defences which had been made, and advanced to the port to offer resistance. One of the leading parties jumped on shore at the port called Barbudo, followed by all the above-mentioned force. The enemy made as if to attack, but on seeing the men there and the defences, and the forts therein made by the Governor's orders, the said [English] seemed inclined to return to the ships, and they turned towards another port called Caradero. Here they made such a sudden descent that, quickly though the defenders hastened to prevent it, they were unable to arrive in time on account of the distance to be covered. So the said enemy effected a landing and took possession of the place, and all the defenders went to the assistance of the aforesaid Governor and soldiers to give them what support they could at the forts and defences made by the said Governor near to this city; and having appointed captains of companies in the various forts and posts, he set to work to restore order among his people. While awaiting the approach of the said enemy, he went about putting heart into all the soldiers. Then the said English took the height called Guana Quintera, with such devilish fury that they could not be driven back, and the Governor and many of the soldiers along with him, went and manned other forts which were situated on a higher position than that of the city, whence they directed a strong musketry fire and succeeded in recapturing the height which the said English had taken, wounding and killing large numbers of the said English enemy, who were entrenched there. The Governor dismounted from a horse which he had been riding in order to move quickly from place to place, and I saw him with a polished musket firing many times at the said enemy and after the victory cheering on the other soldiers up to the very last fort in the city. From there he sent his nephew, Captain Juan Ruiz de Vides, to follow up the victory by pursuing the said enemy, which he did down to the seashore, killing many; and the said Governor straightway sent some of the soldiers who had followed him to assist in this pursuit, for those who took part in it killed many of the English, which, along with those that I saw, were forty, and eight who were wounded. The Governor Antonio de Berrio and other persons said that there were also twenty-seven dead in their ships, a total of seventy-

five English, not counting others who were badly wounded, and there was taken in the pursuit great store of muskets and corselets, a large quantity of money as well as the War-Chest. The said English Privateer on the twenty-ninth day of this said month of June set sail and departed from the ports of this said city. And believing it [to be the truth], I gave the present attestation having been present at all that I have declared.

¶ Given in the city of Cumana on the twenty-ninth day of June one thousand five hundred and ninety-five.

¶ In witness of the truth, Francisco Lopez Uquilla,

Scrivener of the Government

(with his Signature and Seal).

¶ I, Domingo Hernandez, Scrivener of Our Lord the King, hereby swear and declare to those whom it may concern that: Francisco Lopez Uquilla by whom this declaration is signed, is the said Scrivener of the Government, and that the declaration, writings and oaths which have taken place or now take place before him, have been given in full faith and judicial form, and that the writings and oaths made before the said Scrivener are faithful and legal, and that the aforesaid offices are at the present time being operated in this City of Cumana, and because I believe this I give the present attestation of it. Dated this sixth day of July 1595.
(Domingo Hernandez's Signature and Seal.)

VII

*Don Roque de Montes Colmenares to the King. (Cumana, 15 October 1595.)*¹

Although I ought to have done this long ago, and acknowledging to Your Majesty a thousand obligations, I have left it undone and have not ventured upon it. Conscious of my poor merits and services to Your Majesty, I pray for pardon and for permission to serve You, pleading excuse for my deficiencies, since Your Majesty is gifted with such valour and generosity as to encourage the good-will of one who so zealously desires to serve Your Majesty, to whom may God grant complete health and long life.

¶ Among the enemy privateers of our Holy Catholic Faith who have this year frequented this coast and the ports thereof and harrying them, came an Englishman with four ships named Guaterral [Walter Raleigh] a private citizen of England, and on the twenty-third of June landed a force of two hundred and ten fighting

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla*. Estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 13. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36316, ff. 283 et seqq. In a much longer letter on the same day Don Roque repeats his description of Raleigh's activities, and stresses the vital importance of colonising and fortifying Trinidad. After describing the rivalry between Berrio and Vides (neither of whom he considers fit for the task) he urges that a special commander should be sent out with an expedition by the King to carry out the task.

men. And although we sallied forth from this city seventy strong—all that could be mustered—to resist them, it was not possible to hold the place owing to their being so many and we the defenders so few. We hastened to the defence of the city, dividing ourselves among the small forts and entrenchments which we had made on the first alarm. And the enemy, having approached close up to a small fort where I was with part of the men, and seeing that we were few, launched the attack there with such impetuosity and fury that they carried the height, with the loss of some Englishmen whom we killed during the assault. And although upon the height we were without protection, we offered a stout resistance, and killed many more, including their Captain and leader, called Caro Filde¹, on which they began to retire with us in pursuit. We then killed many more Englishmen, forty odd [dead] being left ashore, and some of the wounded who embarked were dying until St Peter's day when they set sail; so that the total amounted to seventy-two, besides the wounded they carried away with them. They themselves admitted, that among the dead were included some of the most noted and important people among them, such as the Captain-Commander mentioned and three other Captains, a sergeant-major, a nephew of the General, son of his sister, and a Portuguese who was esteemed a brave soldier. We captured a large quantity of spoil and arms, with which this City has thus become well supplied, such as muskets, pikes, corselets, helmets and some goodly weapons borne by the Commander. We are overjoyed at the great mercy that God has given us by working such a great miracle as this has been, so that on our side there was not a single one dead nor wounded, nor any other kind of loss; and it served to supply us with the means of continuing to defend the territories of Your Majesty as we ought.

¶ Three years have I served Your Majesty in this province, and although my only thought is to serve my King and Lord, and be happy to serve him even in a desert like this; yet I confess to Your Majesty that it caused me concern when I came to see the treatment of the Indians, and the great falsehood and little truth used therein. For, while I desired to put into execution the just object which brought me here, I found so many to oppose and so few to support, that I have found myself always alone and without aid to enable me to accomplish many things that were for the service of God and of Your Majesty and the extension of this Kingdom, which has been my guiding sentiment. But considering that Your Majesty may be best served by my remaining here, I will do my utmost to take advantage of every opportunity which presents itself, as I have done in the past, for besides assisting personally (and others whom I have with me), at my own cost I have built a fort and a rampart for this city which are of great importance for its defences. And I serve Your Majesty with sums of money, which although due to me from the Royal Treasury, I have not collected, which will be a testimony which I shall send to the Council to show that I have spent part of my

¹ Captain Calfield.

fortune, (and with the utmost satisfaction) that I might know that I serve God and Your Majesty thereby, and that I have been of some value in the defence of this land and in the furtherance of Your Majesty's interests. May God grant me his Grace to guide me aright.

¶ I have given an account to Your Majesty of the state of things in this Province, and of what to me has seemed convenient for Your service. I am continuing in the same course, with a desire for its extension and the benefit of the Royal Exchequer. I pray Your Majesty's protection and support; for thus some results of value may follow, and I shall be encouraged to achieve greater things. God save Your Majesty, and grant you prosperity and success.

Cumana, 15 October 1595.

ROQUE DE MONTES COLMENARES
(Seal)

VIII

*Don Roque de Montes Colmenares to the King. (Cumana, 18 April 1596.)*¹

Sire,

By the letter written to Your Majesty, with two extra copies, dated 15th October of last year, ninety-five, and which I despatched by three routes, viz: by the Governor of Cartagena, the Governor of the Island of Margarita, and the Bishop of San Juan de Puerto Rico, I have given an account to Your Majesty of the affairs of Your Royal Service, in fulfilment of what Your Majesty commands in Your Royal Letter, and of that which I must do by means of the recognition I have from it. And in this [letter] I continue [my account of] what has occurred here, praying that God will give me grace to do the right in everything.

¶ At the beginning of the month of November of the said year, ninety-five, there departed from this City for the Isle of Trinidad Captain Phelipe de Santiago², Lieutenant of the Governor Francisco de Vides, to whom pertained the settlement thereof, in order to convey with him a number of men of arms, munitions, and other stores, necessary in the war and for the defence of the place and people. In all of which I have assisted as far as was in my power, seeking to help even with my own private estate, in view of the great importance of that Island to Your Majesty's service, which is by no means deserted but populated, so that the colonists have to resist and defend themselves against the many pirate enemies

¹ *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla*. Estante 54, cajon 4, legajo 6. Transcript, Add. MSS, 36317, ff. 83 et seqq.

² Santiago, who had been brought up by Berrio and had accompanied him from New Granada, had deserted his old chief for Berrio's rival, Vides. (Cf. Pedro Simon, *Setima Noticia Historiale de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, cap. xi, pp. 600-601.)

that surround and attack them, these being English as well as Caribs. Among other things worthy of note which I have charged Captain Phelipe de Santiago to carry out in my zeal for Your Majesty's service, was that he should endeavour to go up the coast of the River Orinoco and arrest the two Englishmen left there by Guaterral last year, ninety-five, with the intention of returning to the Island and depopulating it, in order that they might have intercourse with the whole region and learn the language of the natives. I further charged him [Santiago] that he should warn the principal Indians of that coast that in future they must not admit nor receive in their country any foreigners except Spaniards who should come in the name of Your Majesty. And from what I have learnt from advices received from the said Captain Phelipe de Santiago, he made his voyage direct to the said coast of the Orinoco up to the Province of Moriquite, where he took from the Indians one Englishman only of the two who had been left there, whose name was Francisco Espari, and found that the other had been eaten by a tiger. He then gave the Indians necessary warning, and the said Englishman declared that Guaterral had departed with the intention of returning to that coast at any time during the month of March of this present year; and the Indians told him that they awaited him during the whole moon of that month of March. But at any rate since he left here with greatly reduced forces compared with when he left the Orinoco, (thanks to our victory over him), I trust in the Lord that he may not be able to carry out such wicked intentions.

¶ On the said coast of the River Orinoco Captain Phelipe and Governor Antonio de Berrio met, and they had some difference on the point that each considered it as his duty to colonise the Island of Trinidad, and finally Governor Antonio de Berrio remained with his people on the said coast, and Captain Phelipe de Santiago went with his to the said Island of Trinidad, where at the beginning of January of this present year he founded a settlement on the southern side, three leagues from the sea and from the port called Port of Spain on the bank of a river called the Caroni, and named it San Phelipe de Montes; as set forth more fully by the Governor Francisco de Vides. At the beginning of the month of March following there left this city Captain Andres de Velasco with more people, arms, and necessary stores for the said settlement; and the place will be fortified so that they may be able to offer a good resistance to the enemies who visit that coast, and likewise the Caribs. I have appointed in the said City of Santiago, Phelipe de Montes as an able and capable treasurer, who will in my place administer and manage the Royal Estate belonging to Your Majesty in the said Island of Trinidad.

¶ The colonisation of the Coast of the River Orinoco is of great importance in the furthering of Your Majesty's interests, in view of the desirability of opening intercourse and the navigation of the said River, besides the facilities it affords for communication with the Kingdom of New Granada and with the neighbouring

provinces, and for searching for what is needed in Spain, silver, gold, and other valuables, or to run down to the Island of Trinidad from whence very good voyages could be made to Spain, being the best place in these parts for the purpose, as it is much to the windward and without the necessity to disembark, as in the case of the conquest and colonisation of Guayana, Caura and El Dorado. For it is the entrance and the way to attain that which is claimed or hoped for;—as will be seen more at length from a report I send to Your Majesty with this, on the navigation of the said river and of the best places on that coast. And moreover the enemy pirates will be prevented from settling there or entering to any part; for, according to the scheme which Guaterral formed after he had reconnoitred the place last year, ninety-five, it is to be suspected and feared that he intends to put into execution his evil project.

¶ Since the conquest and colonisation of this country, there has been talk here about Gold Mines; but the conquest of the natives being so difficult and the greater part inhabited that in wartime it is only possible to penetrate with a large force. But as I have not been able to amass either (...?), I have attempted to enter by many ways, devoting, on my part, whatever was possible in aid of the project, both in my person and my means. Although I have been unable to attain the desired end, I have made some inquiries in the endeavour to bring to light and discover definitively the localities and situations of the places from whence the natives have mined the gold, and I am shortly going to inspect them, so as to effect the desired penetration into the country. Three mines are reported in three places, each distinct from the other. There is much talk of two of them, and samples, etc. One is on the bank of the River Neveri, and the other on the bank of the River Santa Fie [Fé].

* * * * *

¶ Fearing the enemies and pirates by whom we have been persecuted and attacked, particularly Guaterral, (he having gone from here hurt and irritated by the damage he sustained in the victory we gained over him last year, ninety-five), and in order to be prepared in good time for possible danger, trusting in God to give us a still greater victory should the enemy return, or against any other enemy whatever, we have enclosed by a high wall all the pass of a valley close to this City, that being the weakest part of the environs, and where the said enemy made his assault. With this, and with the fort the City already possesses, and for the rest a river and some very high hills, it is now in a very good state of defence for any occasion, and I am of good courage to do my duty.

* * * * *

ROQUES DE MONTES COLMENARES

(Seal)

APPENDIX C

OF THE VOYAGE FOR GUIANA

WRITTEN BY OR FOR SIR WALTER RALEGH¹

TOUCHING the voyage for Guiana it is to be considered first, whether it bee to be vndertaken: secondly, the manner of subduing it: and lastely, the meanes howe to subdue it, and annex it to the Crowne Imperiall of the Realme of England.

¶ That it is to be vndertaken will appeare, if it be proued to bee (1) honorable, (2) profitable, (3) necessary, (4) and with no greate chardge, or difficultye accomplished.

¶ It is honorable, both for that by this meanes infinite numbers of soules may be brought from theyr idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignoraunce, and inciuiltie to the worshipping of the trve God aright to ciuill conversation, and also theyr bodyes freed from the intollerable turrany of the Spaniards wherevnto they are already or likely in shorte space to bee subjected, vnlesse her excellent Majestie or some other christian prince doe speedily assiste, and afterward protect them in their iust defensiuē wars against the violence of vsurpers which if it please her highnes to vndertake, besids that presently it will stopp the mouthes of the Romish Catholickes, who vaunt of theyr great adventvres for the propogacion of the gospell, it will add greate increase of honor, to the memory of her Majesties name vpon earth to all posterity and in the end bee rewarded with an excellent starlike splendency in the heavens, which is reserved for them that turne many unto righteousness, as the Prophet speaketh.

¶ 2. Likewise it is profitable, for heereby the Queens dominions may bee exceedingly enlarged, and this Realme inestimably enriched, with pretious stones, gold, silver, pearle, and other commodities which those countryes yeald, and (God giuing good successe to the voiage) an entrance made thereby to many other Empyres, (which hapily may proue as rich as this) and it may bee to Peru it selfe and other Kingdomes of which the Spaniards bee now possessed, in those partes and else where.

¶ 3. Lastly, the necessity of attempting Guiana in regard of our owne security (albeit noe profite should redound thereby to the Indians, or to ourselves directly from those countryes) ought greatly to weigh with vs. For if the Spaniards by the treasure of those Kingdomes which hee hath already, be able to trouble the better parte of Christendome, what would hee doe if hee were once established in Guiana, which is thought to bee more rich then all other lands which hee enjoyeth either

¹ Sloane MSS. 1133, fol. 45. Printed by Schomburgk, Raleigh's *Guiana* (Hakluyt Soc.), p. 135. The marginal sub-titles of the original are here omitted.

in the East or West Indies. Whereas if her Majestie weare seased of it, hee mighte bee soe kepte occupied in those prouinces that hee would not hastily threaten vs, with any more of his inuincible navies.

¶ But although this voyage were never so honorable, profitable, or necessary for our estate to be undertaken, yet if we had not some possibility for the effecting of our purpose, it were more meete to strengthen our selues at home, then to weaken our forces in seeking to annoy our enemy abroad. But such opportunity and so many encouragements doe now offer themselves vnto her highnes that (I suppose) there is no prince in the world but hee would greatly strayne hymselfe, rather then to omitt the advantage of such a booty. Among others, these inducements are to bee weighed.

¶ 1. The Bordurers, who are sayd to bee naturalls, and to whom onely the Empire of Guiana doth of right apperteine, are already prepared to joyne with vs, having submitted themselves to the Queen's protection both against the Spaniards and Emperor of Guiana who usurpeth upon them.

¶ 2. The Spaniards for theyr oppressions and usurpations, are detested and feared both by the Guianians and bordurers, by the former, beecause the Spaniards forced them to fly from theyr owne country of Peru, and by the latter, by experience of the Spanish dealing towards themselves and theyr adjoyning neighbors. So as it is reported none doe assiste them save the Arwacans, a vagabond, poore, and small people. But it is like that all the countreyes of the continent who are not yet intralld to the Spaniards and have heard of their outrage and especially the Amazones in regarde of their sexe, will be ready to ayd her Majestie against the Spaniards.

¶ 3. The voyage is shorte being but 6 weekes sayling from England and the like backe againe, which may so bee contriued as going, abiding, and returning we may bestow an whole yeare without any winter at all by the way, no lee shore, no sandes, or enimies coast.

¶ 4. No chardge but onely at the first setting forth which need not be great, especially if the course layd downe in this treatise or some such like, be taken, considering the country yeeldeth store of corne, beasts, fowle, fish and fruit for victualls, and steele and copper for the making of armor and ordnance, and among the Amapagotos and Caraccas horses may be had and in short time manned for our service in the wars.

¶ 5. It is thought the passage to it may bee easely fortified by sea and the country by nature is defended by land with mountaines and multitude of nations, that it is impossible in manner by land to bee evicted, beeing once attayned by vs.

¶ 6. Though we are not greatly to rely upon prophesies, yet if it weare found in Peru (as Don Anthonio de Berreo told Sir Walter Ralegh) among other prophesies that from Inglatiera the Inga should be restored to Peru, it may fall out to bee true (as many of theyr prophesies did both in Mexico and Peru which indeed

foreshewed the altARATION of those Empires) at least the prophesy will greatly daunt the Spaniards and make them afraid of the worst event in these employments.

¶ 7. If it be remembred how the Spaniards haue without just title or any wrong at all donne to them by the harmelesse Indians, forceably enuaded and wrongfully deteyned their countryes aboute 100 yeares, committing barbarous and exquisite massacres to the distruction of whole nations of people (arising by estimation of some of accompt among them and acquaynted with theyr proceedings in some few yeares to the number of 20 millions of reasonable creatures made to the Image of God and lesse harmefull then the Spaniards themselves) whereby more fruitfull land was layd wast and depopulated then is in all Europe and some parte of Asia, in reuenge wherof their owne religious men do make accompte that the just God in judgment will one day horribly chasten and peradventure wholly subuert and root out the Spanish nation from the world. Againe if it bee noted that the Spaniards haue aboute 20 severall times in vayne sought the conquest of Guiana, and that it doth by the providence of the Almighty now (as it were) prostrate herselfe before her Majesties feet the most potent enemy that the Spaniards hath, not onely intreating but by vnvaluable offers and vnanswerable reasons alluring, even urging and forcing her highnes to accept it vnder her alleigiance, who would not bee perswaded that now at length the great judge of the world, hath heard the sighes, grones, lamentacions, teares, and blood of so many millions of innocent men, women, and children afflicted, robbed, reuiled, branded with hot irons, roasted, dismembred, mangled, stabbed, whipped, racked, scalded with hott oyle, suet, and hogsgrease, put to the strapado, ripped alive, beheaded in sport, drowned, dashd against the rocks, famished, deuoured by mastifes, burned and by infinite cruelties consvmed, and purposeth to scourge and plague that cvrsed nation, and to take the yoake of seruitude from that distressed people, as free by nature as any Christian. In comtemplacion of all which things, who would not bee encouraged to proceed in this voiage, hauing in a maner none other enemyes but these Spaniards, abhorred of God, and man, being provoked by so many allvurements, occasions, reasons, and opportunityes, in a most just cause, the safety of our dread soveraigne, of our selves, and of a great part of the Christian world thereupon depending.

¶ Now having proued that the voiage for Guiana is to be vndertaken that there is a full hope of good successe therein with great honor and profytt to her Majestie and to her successors, and to all the subjects of her dominions: It cometh next to be discussed in what manner it is most convenient for vs to labor to haue the Empire of Guiana subdved and vnited to the crowne of England which must be either by expelling the vsurping Inga of Manoa from Guiana vnder the right and title of the naturalls, and their free election, taking possession of the Tassell royall, or whatsoever other tokens, or ensignes of the Empyre are retayned among them,

to the vse of her Majestie and her successors, or else onely by way of composition to draw the Inga to doe homage, and to hold of her Majestie as her vassell, by reteyn services by way of honorable couenants vpon good consideracions heereafter in this Treatise to be expressed. The effecting of the former seemeth more profitable, but the latter more safe and more convenient as our case standeth which I doe gather by these reasons following.

¶ 1. If wee doe seeke to depose the Emperor of Guiana then we shall loose the advantage of setting them on to attempt the recouery of Peru from the Spaniards or otherwise to inuade the Spanish dominions next affronting.

¶ 2. Yt is greatly to be feared that notwithstanding we might by the helpe of the Bordurers overthrow hym, yet in the end hee would rather joyne with the Spaniards (who would be ready to win hym vnto them by fayre promises) then suffer vs to rest quiett in Guiana.

¶ 3. We shall bee much weaker and lesse able to resiste the puissance of the Spaniards if we haue not the assurance of the Guianians and their assistants.

¶ 4. By setting the Guianians against vs, we shall never reduce them to the obedience of the Gospell which ought to bee one principall respect in our endeavors.

¶ 5. Wee may haue sufficient profite both by the contynuall trafficke and by the sayd couenants to be agreed vpon by the Guianians, without the absolute conquest of Guiana.

¶ 6. And lastly, this agreeth best with the prophesy which the Spaniards haue among them for the recouery of Peru by the Inga.

¶ Thus much of the manner of subdvyng the Guianians, the meanes of procuring this come nexte to bee considered, which ought to bee just before God according to our christian profession, and honorable among men according to the accustomed proceedings of our English nation. For it were farr better with the helpe of our confederates vnder the defence of the Almighty to strengthen ourselves in our owne countryes, then to purchase our securitye by assaulting Guiana by such practises as the Spaniards vsed in the conquest of the Indies. Therefore the president of their dishonorable actions may not serue for our instructions. For which purpose I lay downe this as a maxime (which yet upon better aduise I ame ready to retracte) that no Christians may lawfully invade with hostility any heathenish people not under their allegiaunce, to kill, spoile, and conquer them, only vpon pretence of their fidelity. My proses and reasons be these.

¶ 1. In the beginning God having made the world, reseruing the heauens for his throne of Majestie, gave the earth and all therein, with the benefytt yssuing from the sunne, the moone, and all the starrs, to the sonnes of men as is manifest by the blessing of God vpon Adam, afterwards renewed vnto Noah and his discendaunts, confirmed in parte by God himselfe to the posterity of wicked Ismaell, after to Nebuchadnezer in these words, I haue made the Earth, man and

the beast vpon the ground by my greate power, and haue giuen it to whom it pleaseth me: But now I have giuen all these lands into the hande of Nebuchadnezer the King of Babell my seruant &c. To the like effect sayth Daniel to Nebuchadnezer: O King, thou arte King of Kings, for the Lord of Heauen hath giuen thee a kingdome, power, strength, glory, &c. By all which it seemeth to me very liquid and cleare that by God's ordinaunce the beleuers are not the only Lords of the world, as beeing not able to people the 20th parte thereof, but that by the gift of God, Idolaters, pagans, and Godlesse persons bee intituled to the possession, and haue a capacity to take, and an ability to hold a property in lands and goods as well as they, which beeing manifested by the former allegacions, it is against the rules of Justice (which giueth to euery man his owen) to depriue them of their goods, lands, libertyes, or liues, without iuste title therevnto.

¶ 2. When Jepthe by his Embassadors shewed to the King of Amon the righte that the Israelites had of inuading the possessions of Amon, he maketh not his title from pretence of their Idolatry or Gentleisme, but because the God of Israel had giuen those lands vnto them. The God of Israel (sayth he) hath cast out the Amorites before his people of Israel, and wouldest thou possess it? wouldest not thou possess that which Chemosh thy God giueth thee to possess? So whomsoever the Lord God driueth out before vs, them will we possess. But God hath giuen no Christians any such warrant, therfor thei may not do the like: as nether the good Kings of Israel or Juda vsed to doo unles upon just cause of wrongs from the Idolaters receved.

¶ 3. Christians are commaunded to doo good vnto all men, and to haue peace with all men; to doo as thei would be donn vnto; to giue none offence to one or other: and lastely Christ willed the disciples to pay tribute to Cæsar, an Infidell, he refused a worldly kingdome, as not apperteyning vnto hym, he reprobued his Apostles when thei desired that fier might come from heauen to destroy the Samaritans, who refused to entertayn hym, saying, you know not what spirit you are of, the sonn of man is not come to destroy mens liues but to saue them. Therfor no christian Prince under pretence of Christianity only, and of forcing of men to receiue the ghospell, or to renounce their impieties, may attempte the inuasion of any free people not vnder their vassaladge. For Christ gaue not that power to Christians as Christians, which he himselfe as soveraigne of all Christians, neither had, nor would take.

¶ 4. By the lawe of nature and nations we agree that Prescription or priority of possession only, giueth right vnto lands or goods, against all straungers, indefesibly by any but the true owners.

¶ 5. We ourselves hould it unreasonable that the Pope vpon cullor of religion only, should giue away, or that any prince should therfor presume to intrude vpon our dominions: or that any Protestant should incroch vpon the Papists, the Muscouits, or Turks, vpon the like occasion; or that an excommunicate person

(whom Christ denounceth to be as an heathen) or a Mahumetist comming into our cuntry for traffique, or an alien Atheist (if any weare among vs) not seducing our people, should be assaulted in goods or person, by any priuate man, or other whosoever, under whose iurisdiction he is not placed. The like rule in proporcion is to be obserued for not inuading any Idolaters dominions.

¶ 6. To be shorte all sound Christians for the semblable practise do repute the Kings of Castile, and Portugall, meere usurpors in Africke, and America. Among the Papists also Bellarmine avoweth that Pope Alexander 6, nether did, nor could give to the foresayd kings the Indies to be conquered and possessed, but only to be conuerted to the faith by them. And the matter being called into question in Spayn, between the Lord Bishop of Chiapa and D. Sepulueda, the two vniuersities of Salamanca and Alcala and allso (if I mistake not mine author) the Lords of the Assembly who weare apointed to heare the controversy debated, did resolve that such kinde of inuasie warrs vpon infidells could not be justified; howsoever the Spaniards (this notwithstanding) nether had, nor yet haue any minde to waive the possession which by violent intrusion they haue of the Indies.

¶ Thus much to confirme that opinion before deliuered that Christians may not warrauntably conquer Infidells vpon pretence only of their infidelity. But I hould it very reasonable and charitable to send preachers safely guarded if need bee, to offer Infidells the gladd tidings of the Gospell, which being refused by them (or peradventure the Infidells giving hard measure to the Preachers) this can ground no sufficient quarrell to ouerrunn their countryes. I neede to speake the lesse of this, because her Majestie is already inuited to take vpon her the Seignorie of Guiana by the naturalls therof, whose ancient right to that Empire may be followed if it be thought convenient. But because in my simple judgment (vpon the former reasons) it is more safe and commendable for vs rather to seeke to bring Guiana to become tributary, then to conquer it, I will pursue that conclsion, shewing how with least charge, and greatest facility, we may best aduantage ourselves without conquest. This may be compassed by these 2 meanes. First by bringing the Bordurers and the Epireumei and Guianians to an unity among themselves. Secondly into a league with vs against the Spaniards, and their adherentes, if happely the adherentes can not be drawn from them, which greatly importeth to be laboured by vs.

¶ 1. By discrediting the Spaniards among them, which must be by acquainting them with the usurpacions, insolences, and tyrranyes of the Spaniards before remembred vpon their kindred in Peru, vpon their neighbors, and vpon whomsoever ether by fraud or force thei can fasten possession. For prooffe whereof Bartol: de las Casas booke of the Spanish cruelties with fayr pictures, or at least a large table of pictures expressing the particularities of the cruelties there specified (neatly wrought for the better credite of our workemanshipp, and their easier vnderstanding) would be sent to the Inga, and his Cassiques by some

interpreters, that thei may publish them among their vassals, and to all the estates of the confining countryes rovnde about that thei may bee all (as much as is possible) conjoynedly linked, and exasperated against the Spaniards. And by informing them that the Spaniards doe holde their religion of the Pope, the great inchantor or cousner, and troubler of the world, who sent them first to invade those countryes, who teacheth them to breake all fayth, promises, oathes, couenantes with all such as bee not of their owne religion, so farr forth as may serue his and their turne, who giueth his followers dispensacions to steale, robb, rebell and murther; and likewise pardoneth for many whatsoeuer wronges or villanyes, are by them committed.

¶ 2. On the other side thei may be wrought to affect vs by these allvremments. 1. By presents sente from her Majestie to the Emperour and principall cassiques. 2. By shewing them the commodities of our countryes. 3. By due commending of her Maiestie, and this state vnto them; as that She is a most gracious, mercifull, and juste Princess, releuing sundry distressed nations both in her owne and forrayn countries against the Spaniards in the Indies, Ireland, Spayn, Portugall, and ellswher: for illustracion wherof the maps containing Sr. Fran: Drakes exploits at Sto. Domingo &c. is to be showne vnto them: furthermore that she is of great magnificence and puissance, her countryes populous, rich, warlike and well provided of shippes as any state in the northern world, for manifesting of this the maps of the severall sheires in England, and the large map of the city of London, should bee conueyed vnto them. Also that her Majestie hath many mighty allies and confederates ready to ayde her against the Spaniards (if need were) as the Frenchmen, Germanes, &c. and the maps of their countryes to bee deliuered vnto them. That the King of Spayne made choise among all other Princes christned as a matter of high advancement to joyne in marriage with her Majesties sister and predecessor. And that her Majesties religion is farr differing from the Spanish, maynteining truth, justice, and faythfulness, prohibiting all murders, treasons, adulteries, thefts, and whatsoeuer correspondeth not with equity and reason. 4. Lastly, their fauors are to be wonn by entring a league with them concerning condicions to be performed by them in consideracion of honorable performances by vs to be rendred and made.

¶ The condicions to be required of them are these. First to renounce their Idolatry, and to worship the only true God, vnto which vnlesse thei will yeeld it may be doubted whether we being Christians may ioyne with them in armes against the Spaniards or not. Some profes mouing this doubte I will briefly offer with submission to sounder judgment.

¶ Jehosaphat hauing aided in battell an Idolatrous King was checked by a Prophet sent from God to hym saying, wouldst thou helpe the wicked, and hate them that loue the Lord. Therefore for this thing the wrath of the Lord is vpon thee. Likewise Amaziah King of Judah, hired 100 thousand men Isralites (who

had fallen from God by Idolatry) to ioyne with him in warrs against the Edomites, and a man of God came vnto hym and sayd: Lett not the army of Israell go with thee, for the Lord is not with Israell &c. whereuppon Amaziah dismissed the Israellites and discomfited the Edomites.

¶ 1. Objection. Asa by the helpe of Idolaters vanquished his enemyes. 1 K. 15. 20.

¶ Answer. Asa is reprov'd for this notwithstanding it had pleased God to giue hym the victory. 2 Chro. 16. 7. The like is to be answered for Hernando Cortez and others who conquered by the helpe of some Indian Idolaters.

¶ 2. Objection. It will require great time to conuert them from their Idolatry.

¶ Answer. It shalbe sufficient at the first to assemble the Cassiques to persvade their people to abandon their Idolls and to surcease their bloudy sacrifices, also to take their promise to yeeld to the gospell (which should be summarily propounded as it was by the Bishop Vincent de Valverde to Attibaliba) and to draw their people thervnto, both now and heereafter further, as thei shalbe instructed.

¶ 3. Objection. Peraduenture thei will not condescende to embrace our religion and abiure their owne.

¶ Answer. First being in distresse thei will rather yeeld to any condicion then be depriued of our protection, especially if wee shew vnto them that our God will not prosper vs if we should doe otherwise. Againe experience in other places giueth great hope that litle persvasion will serve to effect this matter. Wheresoeuer Cortez travelled in Mutezuma his cuntryes the people did at the first without contradiction giue hym leaue to demolish their Idolls; only (as I remember) in Thaxcallan for a tyme thei made some scruple of it. In China at the preaching of some fryers the people were redily persvaded to relinquish their Sodomity and Idolatry, sauing thei durst not professe the Gospell openly fearing the Magistrates, who are jelious of inouations. When Pedrasuarez Cabrall, was sent into the East Indies by the King of Portugall, he hapned to discouer Brasill, wher the inhabitants seing the Portuguese kneeling at prayers, thei likewise kneeled after the same manner, making shew of prayeing. But of all other the Lord Bishop of Chiapa (who liued many yeares among the Indies) avowcheth that thei were teachable and capable of all good learning very apt to receaue the Catholic fayth, and to be instructed in good manners, hauing lesse incombrances in attaining thervnto then any other, and that after thei once tasted of religion, thei were very much inflamed, ardent and importune to vnderstand the matter of fayth, deliuering their idols to the religious men to be burned, bringing their children to be baptised and chathechized, sending for them sometimes 50 Leagues, and receauing them as aungelles sent from heauen, which considered we may presvme the like of the Guianians. But if after deliberation it shall be found agreeable for vs to ioyne with them before their conuersion, then this first condicion and the objections thervpon arising, need lesse to trouble vs.

¶ The 2 conditions should bee, that the Inga of Manoa by the consent of his Lords and Cassiques surrender the ensignes of his Empire to her Majestie to be retourned to him againe to be holden in cheife of the Crowne of England. Also her Majesties Lievetenantes to direct the Guianians in their conclusions both of warr and peace: Rendring yearely to her Majestie and her successors a great tribute allotting to her vse some rich mines and riuers of gold, pearle, siluer, rocks of pretious stones &c. with some large fruitfull cuntryes for the planting of her Colonies.

¶ Lastely for assvrance of these condicions they shall giue speciall hostages to be sent into England, which being ciuilled and conuerted heere, vpon there returne and receiuing of others in their romes thei may be matched in marriage with English women. They shall also allow some choyse places for fortifications; and moreover bynde themselues by the oathes and ceremonies of their cuntryes, that thei will be loyall and faythfull in the premises and in all other thinges to her Majestie and her successors and to her and their highnes generalls for the time beeing.

¶ The offers to be made vnto the Guianians, and performed on our partes may be these. 1. First that we will defend them their wiues, children and cuntryes against the Spaniards and all other intrvders. 2. Then that we will helpe them to recouer their country of Peru. 3. That wee will instructe them in liberall arts of civility behoofsfull for them that thei may be comparable to any christian people. 4. And lastly that we will teach them the vse of weapons, how to pitch theyr battells, how to make armor, and ordnance, and how to manage horses for service in the warrs.

¶ This latter point (to say the truth) is the principall scope wherevnto in this Treatise I haue aymed, contayning in short a course of expedition most fitt to be followed (though never yet executed (so farr as I can heare or read of) in any of the conquests of the East or West Indies;) yet necessary to be now vsed by vs our case being farr different from the former enterprises in the New world. For wee are not to goe as Cortez, Pizarro, or the other conquerors against a naked vnarmed people (whose warrs are resembled by some to the childrens play called Iogo di Canne). Butt we are to encounter with the Spaniards, armed in all respectes, and as well practised as ourselves. Therefore we must instruct the Indians in the vse and skill of making armor, and that for these causes.

¶ 1. We cannot spare a sufficient number to send to the conquest or at least having gott possession of Guiana wee cann not by the helpe of the naked Indians nor safely by the ayde of forreine forces to be hired, longinioye it. For the Spaniards will gather their strength from Spayn, Peru, Nova Hispania, Nueuo Regno de Granado, the Islands, and from other their dominions to disloge vs, we being farr from our supplies, which may be intercepted, or we so busied at home that wee cannot send any.

¶ 2. If we do not take this course it is not improbable that some other Potentate will at length thincke upon it, and vse it to our great trouble and too late repentance.

¶ 3. Besides if this policy be not vsed, we cannot set the Guianians on worke to inuade the cuntryes circumiacent possessed by the Spaniards which thing (vnder favor) would tend as much to our security, as any other, in reason to be deuised: neither can we haue conueniently sufficient armor and ordinance vnlesse we take the helpe of the Guianians to make some who haue brasse, and Iron and many Goldsmiths of rare science (as may be thought) who would be very capable to receiue information from our Enginers, Armorsers, and Artificers, which together with some ingenious persons (experimented for necessarye new inuentions) are to be carryed thether for that purpose.

¶ 1. Objection. But you will say we want armor to furnish them presently.

¶ Answere. It were not amisse at the first to aduenture somewhat extraordinary, seeing vpon our arriuall we may haue present payment for it, and also mony to send for more. And one of our armorsers or gunmakers might with one labor teach 20 Guianians, who would quickly conceaue and imitate their actions.

¶ 2. Objection. If we arme and instruct them thei will expell vs, as able to defend themselues without vs.

¶ Answere. 1. The Indians for the most parte are a people very faythfull, humble, patient, peceable, simple without subtilty, mallice, quarrels, strife, rancor or desyer of reuengement, as meeke as lambs, as harmeles as children of 10 or 12 yeares. As the Bishop of Chiapa (a man as semeth of good credit) of his owne experience doth witnesse, and wee our selues in parte have had the like prooffe of them. So as thei hauing receiued such great benefits as we shall confer vpon them, thei giuing also sufficient security by hostages, others &c. vnto vs, we cannot presume that thei will be so vngratefull as to rise against vs, or if some doe, doubtlesse we shall finde others that will sticke vnto vs. The history of the Tlaxcaltecas faythfulnes to Hernando Cortez who had prepared 50000 men to send for his succor, beeing almost uanquished by the Mexicans, who came to meete hym in his returne prouiding 20 thousand men and women to bring his retinew and victualle; who receiued hym with weeping, mourning and lamentacion, for the dammage donn unto hym by his enemyes, who enterteyned hym into their city, cherishing hym and his men being weake, weary, maymed, and almost famished, in better sort then thei could have found in thei owne cuntryes, when the Tlaxcaltecas if thei had bene as faythles as many Christians are, might be deliuering him into the hands of the Mexicans haue purchased their peace and liberty: the history I say of these and such like kindnesses shewed vnto the mercillesse Spaniards, doe argue the great loue and faythfulnes of the poore Indian people where thei once haue conceaued a good opinion.

¶ 2. Wee may make choise to arme and instructe such of them as we find most trusty and most prone to Christianity reseruing the powder and shott in our owne custody allowing them onely so much as will serue their present vse from tyme to tyme, concealing also the secret of making powder, or some other necessaryes from them till we haue full triall of their fidelityes, that thei may still stand in need of vs and of our counsell.

¶ 3. Objection. By our example the Spaniards or some other civill people will arme the Indians and so displant us.

¶ Answeare. We shall haue great aduantage in beginning this course before others. The Spaniards dare hardly trust any Indians with armor. In a short time the Guianians may be instructed, trayned and consequently armed, and we by them and thei by vs defended with greater facility (being in their owne country) then opugned by any others: as wee see the estates of Christendome can defend their owne dominions amid the forces of their armed aduersaries.

¶ Besids this easy and compendious way of possessing Guiana, by arming the inhabitants, there is speciall choise to be had in sending preachers of good discrecion and behauior for their conuersion (who may reuiue the old order of Christian Churches in speaking by Interpreters) also of well gouerned souldiers and artisans, that will not wrong the Indians in their persons, women or possessions. To that end a seuerity of Martiall Discipline is to be vsed in the open presence of the Guianians (being made acquainted with the cause of the punishment) with full satisfaction for all iniuries which by the ruder sort shalbe offered. This wilbe a singular meane to worke their conuersion to procure their louing affections, and to oblige them in assured loyalty to her Majestie. Otherwise if our men practise vpon them the Spaniards cruelties (which God forbid) besids the wrath of God, and the vtter ouerthrow of the whole seruice to bee feared, it will fall out with the Guianians, as with the other Indians of the conquered nations, who cursed the God of the Spaniards mourning after their owne Idols, thinking them better then the Spanish God, whom thei held to bee the worst, the most vnjust, the most wicked of all Gods, because he had such seruants: and the Spanish king the most vnjust and cruell of all Princes, supposing that he did feed on humayne flesh and bloud, because he sent among them such ill subjects. As Barth: de las Casas expressly certified his Lordship the Emperor Charles the 5th in his suyte vnto hym for redresse of the horrible outrages perpetrated by his Spaniards against the Indians.

¶ To conclude if it might seeme fitt to her excellent Majestie that 4 or 5 hundred men (whereof some to be Leaders, some casters of great ordinance, some gunners, some Armorers &c.) were landed by hundreds in seuerall places next confining to Peru, Noua Hispania, Castilia del Oro, Nuevo Regno, Terra Florida, or els where as shalbe most conuenient for prouision of armor and munition to furnish the people, with instruction to sett them to warr against the Spaniards, it is greatly

to be hoped that in a short tyme the Spaniards should be so occupied with defending their Bordurs that we might rest more safely heere in England and in Guiana. And also further matter of such graunde consequence mighte be accomplished the like wherof haue not come to the knowledge of the world since the conquest of the Indies. Allwaies provided that this policy of arminge the Inhabitants, as a speciall secret, be discretely carryed and concealed vntyll it be rypened and brought into open Action.

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